

A

V O Y A G E

ROUND THE

W O R L D.

IN THE YEARS

M, DCC, XL, I, II, III, IV,

BY

GEORGE ANSON, ESQ;

NOW LORD ANSON,

Commander in Chief of a Squadron of his MAJESTY'S
Ships, sent upon an Expedition to the South Seas.

COMPILED

From his PAPERS and MATERIALS,

By RICHARD WALTER, M. A.

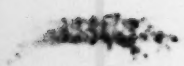
Chaplain of the Ship the Centurion in that Expedition.

V O L. I.

A Y R:

PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON,

M, DCC, XC.



TO HIS GRACE

J O H N

DUKE OF BEDFORD, MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK, EARL OF BEDFORD, BARON RUSSEL OF THORNHAUGH AND BARON HOWLAND OF STREATHAM; ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE, AND LORD LIEUTENANT AND CUSTOS ROTULORUM OF THE COUNTY OF BEDFORD.

My LORD,

THE following narrative of a very singular naval achievement is addressed to your GRACE, both on account of the infinite obligations which the Commander in chief, at all times, professes to have received from your friendship; and also, as the subject itself naturally claims the patronage of one under whose direction the British navy has resumed its ancient spirit and lustre, and has in one summer ennobled itself by two victories, the most decisive, and (if the strength and number of the captures be considered) the most important that are to be met with in our annals. Indeed, an uninterrupted series of success, and a manifest superiority gained universally over the enemy, both in commerce and glory, seem to be the necessary effects of a revival of strict discipline, and of an unbiassed

regard to merit and service. These are marks that must distinguish the happy period of time in which your GRACE presided; and afford us a fitter subject for history, than for an address of this nature. Very signal advantages of rank and distinction, obtained and secured to the naval profession by your GRACE's auspicious influence, will remain a lasting monument of your unwearied zeal and attachment to it, and be for ever remembered with the highest gratitude by all who shall be employed in it. As these were the generous rewards of past exploits, they will be likewise the noblest incentives, and surest pledges of the future. That your GRACE's eminent talents, magnanimity, and disinterested zeal, whence the public has already reaped such signal benefits, may in all times prove equally successful in advancing the prosperity of Great Britain, is the ardent wish of,

My LORD,

Your GRACE'S

Most obedient,

Most devoted, and

Most humble Servant,

RICHARD WALTER.

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INTRODUCTION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great improvements of navigation within the last two centuries, a voyage round the world is still considered as an enterprize of so very singular a nature, that the public has never failed to be extremely inquisitive about the various accidents and turns of fortune with which this uncommon attempt is generally attended: and though the amusement expected in these narrations is doubtless one great source of that curiosity with the bulk of readers, yet the more intelligent part of mankind have always agreed, that, from accounts of this nature, if faithfully executed, the more important purposes of navigation, commerce, and national interest, may be greatly promoted; for every authentic description of foreign coasts and countries will contribute to one or more of these great ends, in proportion to the wealth, wants, or commodities of those countries, and our ignorance of those coasts. And therefore a voyage round the world promises a species of information of all others the most desirable and interesting, since great part of it is performed in seas, with which we are as yet but very imperfectly acquainted, and in the neighbourhood of a country renowned for the abundance of its wealth, though it is at the same time stigmatized for its poverty in the necessaries and conveniences of a civilized life.

These considerations have occasioned the compiling the ensuing work; which, in gratifying the inquisitive dis-

position of mankind, and contributing to the safety and success of future navigators, and to the extension of our commerce and power, may doubtless vie with any narration of this kind hitherto made public: since, as to the first of these heads, it may be well supposed, that the general curiosity hath been strongly excited by the circumstances of this undertaking already known to the world. For whether we consider the force of the Squadron sent on this service, or the diversified distresses that each single ship was separately involved in, or the uncommon instances of varying fortune, which attended the whole enterprise; each of these articles, I conceive, must, from its rude, well known out lines, appear worthy of a complete and more finished delineation. And if this be allowed with respect to the narrative part of the work, there can be no doubt about the more useful and instructive parts, which are almost every where interwoven with it: for I can venture to affirm, without fear of being contradicted on a comparison, that no voyage hitherto published furnishes such a number of views of land, soundings, draughts of roads and ports, charts, and other materials for the improvement of geography and navigation, as are contained in the ensuing volumes; which are the more valuable too, as the greatest part of them relate to such islands or coasts as have been hitherto not at all, or erroneously, described, and where the want of sufficient and authentic information might occasion future enterprizes to prove abortive, perhaps with the destruction of the ships and men employed therein.

And besides the number and choice of these marine drawings and descriptions, there is another very essential circumstance belonging to them, which more enhances their worth, and that is the great accuracy with which they were executed. I shall express my opinion of them in this particular very imperfectly, when I say that they are not exceeded, and perhaps not equalled, by any thing of this nature which has as yet been communicated to the world: for they were not copied from the works of others, or composed at home from imperfect accounts given by inquisitive and unskilful observers, (a practice too frequent in these matters): but the greatest part of them were delineated on the spot, with the utmost exactness, by the di-

rection, and under the eye of Mr. Anson himself; and where (as is the case of three or four of them) they have been done by less skilful hands, or were found in possession of the enemy; and consequently their justness could be less relied on, I have always taken care to apprise the reader of it, and to put him on his guard against giving entire credit to them; although I doubt not but these less authentic draughts, thus cautiously inserted, are to the full as correct as those which are usually published on these occasions. For, as actual surveys of roads, and harbours, and nice and critical delineations of views of land, take up much time and attention, and require a good degree of skill, both in planning and drawing, those who are defective in industry and ability, supply these wants by bold conjectures and fictitious descriptions; and as they can be no otherwise confuted than by going on the spot, and running the risk of suffering by their misinformation, they have no apprehensions of being detected: and therefore, when they obtrude their supposititious productions on the public, they make no conscience of boasting, at the same time, with how much skill and care they are performed. But let not those who are unacquainted with naval affairs imagine, that impositions of this kind are of an innocent nature; for as exact views of land are the surest guide to a seaman, on a coast where he has never been before, all fictions, in so interesting a matter, must be attended with numerous dangers, and sometimes with the destruction of those who are thus unhappily deceived.

Besides these draughts of such places, as Mr. Anson or the ships under his command have touched at in the course of this expedition, and the descriptions and directions relating thereto, there is inserted in the ensuing work, an ample account, with a chart annexed to it, of a particular navigation, of which, hitherto, little more than the name has been known, except to those immediately employed in it; I mean the tract described by the Manila ship, in her passage to Acapulco, through the northern part of the Pacific ocean. This material article is collected from the draughts and journals met with on board the Manila galeon, founded on the experience of more than a hundred and fifty years practice, and corroborated, in its principal circumstances, by the concurrent evidence of

all the Spanish prisoners taken in that vessel. And as many of their journals, which I have examined, appear to have been not ill kept, I presume the chart of that northern ocean, and the particulars of their route through it, may be very safely relied on by future navigators. The advantages which may be drawn from an exact knowledge of this navigation, and the beneficial projects that may be formed thereon both in war and peace, are by no means proper to be discussed in this place; but they will easily offer themselves to the skilful in maritime affairs. However, as the Manila ships are the only ones which have ever traversed this vast ocean, except a French straggler or two, which have been afterwards seized on the coast of Mexico; and as, during near two ages, in which this trade has been carried on, the Spaniards have, with the greatest care, secreted all accounts of their voyages from the rest of the world; these reasons alone would authorize the insertion of those papers, and would recommend them to the inquisitive, as a very great improvement in geography, and worthy of attention, from the singularity of many circumstances therein recited. I must add too, (what, in my opinion, is far from being the least recommendation of these materials) that the observations of the variation of the compass in that ocean, which are laid down in the chart from the Spanish journals, tend greatly to complete the general system of the magnetic variation, of infinite import to the commercial and sea-faring part of mankind. These observations were, though in vain, often publicly called for by our learned countryman, the late Dr. Hally, and to his immortal reputation, they confirm, as far as they extend, the wonderful hypothesis he had entertained on this head, and very nearly correspond in their quantity to the predictions he published above fifty years since, long before he was acquainted with any one observation made in those seas. The ascertaining the variation in that part of the world is just now too of more than ordinary consequences, as the editors of a new variation chart, lately published, have, for want of proper information, been misled by an erroneous analogy; and have mistaken the very species of variation in that northern ocean; for they make it westerly where it is easterly, and have laid it down 12° or 13° degrees different from its real quantity.

Thus much it has been thought necessary to premise, with regard to the hydrographical and geographical part of the ensuing work, which, it is hoped, the reader will, on perusal, find much ampler, and more important, than this slight sketch can well explain: but as there are hereafter occasionally interspersed some accounts of Spanish transactions, and many observations relating to the disposition of the American Spaniards, and to the condition of the countries bordering on the South-Seas; and as herein I may appear to differ greatly from the opinions generally established, I think it behoves me particularly to recite the authorities I have been guided by in these matters, that I may not be censured as having given way, either to a thoughtless credulity on one hand, or, what would be a much more criminal imputation, to a wilful and deliberate misrepresentation on the other.

Mr. Anson, before he set sail upon this expedition, besides the printed journals to those parts, took care to furnish himself with the best manuscript accounts he could procure of all the Spanish settlements upon the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico: these he carefully compared with the examinations of his prisoners, and the informations of several intelligent persons, who fell into his hands in the South Seas. He had likewise the good fortune, in some of his captures, to possess himself of a great number of letters and papers of a public nature, many of them written by the viceroy of Peru to the viceroy of Santa Fee, to the presidents of Panama and Chili, to Don Blas de Lezo, admiral of the galleons, and to divers other persons in considerable employments: and in these letters there was usually inserted a recital of those they were intended to answer; so that they contained no small part of the correspondence between those officers for some time previous to our arrival on that coast. We took besides many letters sent from persons intrusted by the Spanish government to their friends and correspondents, which were frequently filled with narrations of public business, and sometimes contained undisguised animadversions on the views and conduct of their superiors. From these materials those accounts of the Spanish affairs are drawn, which may, at first sight, appear the most exceptionable. In particular, the

history of the various casualties which beset Pizarro's squadron, is, for the most part, composed from intercepted letters; though indeed the relation of the insurrection of Orellana and his followers, is founded on rather a less disputable authority; for it was taken from the mouth of an English gentleman, then on board Pizarro, who often conversed with Orellana; and it was, upon inquiry, confirmed in its principal circumstances by others who were in the ship at the same time: so that the fact, however extraordinary, is, I conceive, not to be contested.

And on this occasion, I cannot but mention, that, though I have endeavoured, with my utmost care, to adhere strictly to truth in every article of the ensuing narration; yet I am apprehensive, that, in so complicated a work, some oversights must have been committed, by the inattention, to which, at times, all mankind are liable. However, I am, as yet, conscious of none but literal and insignificant mistakes; and if there are others more considerable which have escaped me, I flatter myself they are not of moment enough to affect any material transaction; and therefore, I hope, they may justly claim the reader's indulgence.

After this general account of the ensuing work, it might be expected, perhaps, that I should proceed to the work itself; but I cannot finish this introduction without adding a few reflections on a matter very nearly connected with the present subject, and, as I conceive, neither destitute of utility, nor unworthy the attention of the public; I mean, the animating my countrymen, both in the public and private stations, to the encouragement and pursuit of all kinds of geographical and nautical observations, and of every species of mechanical and commercial information. It is by a settled attachment to these seemingly minute particulars, that our ambitious neighbours have established some part of that power with which we are now struggling: and as we have the means in our hands of pursuing these subjects more effectually than they can, it would be a dishonour to us longer to neglect so easy and beneficial a practice. For as we have a navy much more numerous than theirs, great part of which is always employed in very dif-

tant nations, either in the protection of our colonies and commerce, or in assisting our allies against the common enemy, this gives us frequent opportunities of furnishing ourselves with such kind of materials as are here recommended, and such as might turn greatly to our advantage either in war or peace; since, not to mention what might be expected from the officers of the navy, if their application to these subjects was properly encouraged, it would create no new expence to the government to establish a particular regulation for this purpose, as all that would be requisite, would be constantly to embark on board some of our men of war, which are sent on these distant cruises, a person, who, with the character of an engineer, and the skill and talents necessary to that profession, should be employed in drawing such coasts, and planning such harbours, as the ship should touch at, and in making such other observations of all kinds, as might either prove of advantage to future navigators, or might any ways tend to promote the public service. Persons habituated to these operations (which could not fail, at the same time, of improving them in their proper business) would be extremely useful in many other lights, besides those already mentioned, and might tend to secure our fleets from those disgraces with which their attempts against places on shore have been often attended. And, in a nation like ours, where all sciences are more eagerly and universally pursued, and better understood, than in any other part of the world, proper subjects for these employments could not long be wanting, if due encouragement were given to them. This method, here recommended, is known to have been frequently practised by the French, particularly in the instance of Monsieur Frezier, an engineer, who has published a celebrated voyage to the South Seas: for this person, in the year 1711, was purposely sent by the French king into that country, on board a merchantman, that he might examine and describe the coast, and take plans of all the fortified places, the better to enable the French to prosecute their illicit trade, or, on a rupture between them and the court of Spain, to form their enterprizes, in those seas, with more readiness and certainty. Should we pursue this method, we might hope, that the emulation amongst those who were commissioned for these undertakings, and the

experience which, even in the most peaceable intervals, they would hereby acquire, might at length procure us a proper number of able engineers, and might efface the national scandal which our deficiency in that species of men has sometimes exposed us to. And surely every step to encourage and improve them is of great moment to the public; as no persons, when they are properly instructed, make better returns in war, for the distinctions and emoluments bestowed on them in time of peace: of which the advantages the French have reaped from their dexterity (too numerous and recent to be soon forgot) are an ample confirmation.

And having mentioned engineers, or such as are skilled in drawing, and other usual practises of that profession, as the properest persons to be employed in these foreign inquiries, I cannot (as it offers itself so naturally to the subject in hand) but lament how very imperfect many of our accounts of distant countries are rendered, by the relators being unskilled in drawing, and in the general principles of surveying, even where other abilities have not been wanting. Had more of our travellers been initiated in these acquirements, and had there been added thereto some little skill in the common astronomical observations, (all which a person of ordinary talents might attain, with a very moderate share of application), we should, by this time, have seen the geography of the globe, much correcter than we now find it; the dangers of navigation would have been considerably lessened, and the manners, arts, and produce of foreign countries, would have been better known to us than they are. Indeed, when I consider the strong incitements that all travellers have to pursue some part at least of these qualifications, especially drawing; when I consider how much it will facilitate their observations, assist and strengthen their memories, and of how tedious, and often unintelligible a load of description it would rid them, I cannot but wonder that any person, who intends to visit distant countries, with a view of informing either himself or others, should be wanting in so necessary a piece of skill. And, to enforce this argument still further, I must add, that, besides the uses of drawing already mentioned, there is one which, though not so ob-

vious, is yet, perhaps, of more consequence than all that has been hitherto urged; I mean the strength and distinguishing power it adds to some of our faculties. This appears from thence, that those who are used to draw objects observe them with more accuracy than others who are not habituated to that practice. For we may easily find, by a little experience, that when we view any object, however simple, our attention or memory is scarcely, at any time, so strong, as to enable us, when we have turned our eyes away from it, to recollect, exactly, every part it consisted of, and to recal all the circumstances of its appearance; since, on examination, it will be discovered, that in some we were mistaken, and others we had totally overlooked; but he that is accustomed to draw what he sees, is, at the same time, accustomed to rectify this inattention; for, by confronting his ideas copied on the paper with the object he intended to represent, he finds out what circumstances has deceived him in its appearance; and hence he, at length, acquires the habit of observing much more at one view, and retains what he sees with more correctness, than he could ever have done without his practice and proficiency in drawing.

If what has been said merits the attention of travellers of all sorts, it is, I think, more particularly applicable to the gentlemen of the navy; since, without drawing and planning, neither charts nor views of land can be taken; and without these it is sufficiently evident that navigation is at a full stand. It is doubtless from a persuasion of the utility of these qualifications, that his Majesty has established a drawing master at Portsmouth, for the instruction of those who are presumed to be hereafter intrusted with the command of his royal navy. And though some have been so far misled, as to suppose that the perfection of sea-officers consisted in a turn of mind and temper resembling the boisterous element they had to deal with, and have condemned all literature and science as effeminate, and derogatory to that ferocity which, they would falsely persuade us, was the most unerring characteristic of courage; yet it is to be hoped, that such absurdities as these have at no time been authorized by the public opinion, and that the belief of them daily diminishes. If those who adhere

to these mischievous positions were capable of being influenced by reason, or swayed by example, I should think it sufficient for their conviction to observe, that the most valuable drawings referred to in the following work, though done with such a degree of skill, that even professed artists can with difficulty imitate them, were taken by Mr. Piercy Brett, one of Mr. Anson's lieutenants, and since captain of the *Lion* man of war, who, in his memorable engagement with the *Elizabeth* (for the importance of the service, or the resolution with which it was conducted, inferior to none this age has seen) has given ample proof, that a proficiency in the arts I have been here recommending, is extremely consistent with the most exemplary bravery, and the most distinguished skill in every function belonging to the duty of a sea officer. Indeed, when the many branches of science are attended to, of which even the common practice of navigation is composed, and the many improvements which men of skill have added to this practice within these few years, it would induce one to believe, that the advantages of reflection and speculative knowledge were in no profession more eminent than in that of a sea-officer. For, not to mention some expertness in geography, geometry, and astronomy, which it would be dishonourable for him to be without, (as his journal and his estimate of the daily position of the ship are founded on particular branches of these arts) it may be well supposed, that the management and working of a ship, the discovery of her most eligible position in the water (usually styled her trim) and the disposition of her sails in the most advantageous manner, are articles wherein the knowledge of mechanics cannot but be greatly assistant. And perhaps the application of this kind of knowledge to naval subjects, may produce as great improvements in sailing and working a ship, as it has already done in many other matters conducive to the ease and convenience of human life: since when the fabric of a ship, and the variety of her sails, are considered, together with the artificial contrivances for adapting them to her different motions, as it cannot be doubted but these things have been brought about by more than ordinary sagacity and invention, so neither can it be doubted but that, in some conjectures, a speculative and scientific turn of mind may find out the

means of directing and disposing this complicated mechanism much more advantageously than can be done by mere habit, or by a servile copying of what others may perhaps have erroneously practised in similar emergencies. But it is time to finish this digression, and to leave the reader to the perusal of the ensuing work; which, with how little art soever it may be executed, will yet, from the importance of the subject, and the utility and excellence of the materials, merit some share of the public attention.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

AS the Plates in the Quarto Edition are too numerous and large to be folded in a small volume, it has been thought proper to leave them out. But the reader is desired to take notice, that the references to all the Plates are continued in this edition; as complete sets of them are sold at seven shillings in boards.

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BY
GEORGE ANSON, Esq;

B O O K I.

CHAP. I.

Of the Equipment of the Squadron; the Incidents relating thereto, from its first Appointment to its setting Sail from ST. HELEN'S

THE squadron under the command of Mr. Anson (of which I here propose to recite the most material proceedings) having undergone many changes in its destination, its force, and its equipment, during the ten months between its original appointment and its final sailing from St. Helen's, I conceive the history of these alterations is a detail necessary to be made public, both for the honour of those who first planned and promoted this enterprise, and for the justification of those who have been intrusted with its execution: since it will from hence ap-

pear, that the accidents the expedition was afterwards exposed to, and which prevented it from producing all the national advantages the strength of the squadron, and the expectation of the public, seemed to presage, were principally owing to a series of interruptions which delayed the commander in the course of his preparations, and which it exceeded his utmost industry either to avoid or to get removed.

When in the latter end of the summer of the year 1739, it was foreseen that a war with Spain was inevitable, it was the opinion of several considerable persons, then intrusted with the administration of affairs, that the most prudent step the nation could take, on the breaking out of the war, was attacking that crown in her distant settlements; for, by this means (as at that time there was the greatest probability of success) it was supposed that we should cut off the principal resources of the enemy, and reduce them to the necessity of sincerely desiring a peace, as they would hereby be deprived of the returns of that treasure by which alone they could be enabled to carry on a war.

In pursuance of these sentiments, several projects were examined, and several resolutions were taken by the council: and in all these deliberations, it was from the first determined, that George Anson, Esq; then captain of the *Centurion*, should be employed as commander in chief of an expedition of this kind; and he, at that time, being absent on a cruise, a vessel was dispatched to his station so early as the beginning of September, to order him to return with his ship to Portsmouth. And soon after he came there, that is, on the 10th of November following, he received a letter from Sir Charles Wager, ordering him to repair to London, and to attend the Board of Admiralty; where, when he arrived, he was informed by Sir Charles, that two squadrons would be immediately fitted out for two secret expeditions, which however would have some connection with each other: that he, Mr. Anson, was intended to command one of them, and Mr. Cornwall (who hath since lost his life gloriously in the defence of his country's honour) the other: that the squadron under Mr. Anson was to take on board three independent companies

of a hundred men each, and Bland's regiment of foot: that Colonel Bland was likewise to embark with his regiment, and to command the land forces; and that, as soon as this squadron could be fitted for the sea, they were to set sail, with express orders to touch at no place till they came to Java Head in the East-Indies: that there they were only to stop to take in water, and thence to proceed directly to the city of Manilla, situated on Luconia, one of the Phillipine Islands: that the other squadron was to be of equal force with this commanded by Mr. Anson, and was intended to pass round Cape Horn into the South-Seas, to range along that coast; and, after cruising upon the enemy in those parts, and attempting their settlements, this squadron, in its return, was to rendezvous at Manilla, there to join the squadron under Mr. Anson, where they were to refresh their men and refit their ships, and perhaps receive orders for other considerable enterprizes.

This scheme was doubtless extremely well projected, and could not but greatly advance the public service, and the reputation and fortune of those concerned in its execution: for had Mr. Anson proceeded for Manilla at the time, and in the manner proposed by Sir Charles Wager, he would, in all probability, have arrived there before they had received any advice of the war between us and Spain, and consequently before they had been in the least prepared for the reception of an enemy, or had any apprehensions of their danger. The city of Manilla might be well supposed to have been at that time in the same defenceless condition with all the other Spanish settlements, just at the breaking out of the war; that is to say, their fortifications neglected, and in many places decayed; their cannon dismounted, or rendered useless by the mouldering of their carriages; their magazines, whether of military stores or provision, all empty; their garrisons unpaid; and consequently thin, ill affected, and dispirited; and the royal chests in Peru, whence alone all these disorders could receive their redress, drained to the very bottom. This, from the intercepted letters of their viceroys and governors, is well known to have been the defenceless state of Panama, and the other Spanish places on the coast of the South Sea, for near a twelvemonth after our declaration

of war : and it cannot be supposed that the city of Manilla, removed still farther by almost half the circumference of the globe, should have experienced from the Spanish government a greater share of attention and concern for its security than Panama, and the other important ports in Peru and Chili, on which their possession of that immense empire depends. Indeed, it is well known that Manilla was at that time incapable of making any considerable defence, and, in all probability, would have surrendered only on the appearance of our squadron before it. The consequence of this city, and the island it stands on, may be, in some measure, estimated, from the known healthiness of its air, the excellency of its port and bay, the number and wealth of its inhabitants, and the very extensive and beneficial commerce which it carries on to the principal ports in the East Indies and China, and its exclusive trade to Aca-pulco, the returns for which, being made in silver, are, upon the lowest valuation, not less than three millions of dollars *per annum*.

On this scheme Sir Charles Wager was so intent, that, in a few days after this first conference, that is, on November 18th, Mr. Anson received an order to take under his command the Argyle, Severn, Pearl, Wager, and Tryal sloop ; and other orders were issued to him in the same month, and in the December following, relating to the victualling of this squadron. But Mr. Anson attending the Admiralty the beginning of January, he was informed by Sir Charles Wager, that for reasons with which he, Sir Charles, was not acquainted, the expedition to Manilla was laid aside. It may be conceived that Mr. Anson was extremely chagrined at the losing the command of so infallible, so honourable, and, in every respect, so desirable an enterprise ; especially too, as he had already, at a very great expence, made the necessary provision for his own accommodation in this voyage, which he had reason to expect would prove a very long one. However, Sir Charles, to render this disappointment in some degree more tolerable, informed him, that the expedition to the South-Seas was still intended, and that he, Mr. Anson, and his squadron, as their first destination was now counter-manded, should be employed in that service. And on the

10th of January he received his commission, appointing him commander in chief of the afore mentioned squadron, which (the Argyle being, in the course of their preparation, changed for the Gloucester) was the same he sailed with, above eight months after, from St. Helen's. On this change of destination, the equipment of the squadron was still prosecuted with as much vigour as ever, and the victualling, and whatever depended on the Commodore, was soon so far advanced, that he conceived the ships might be capable of putting to sea the instant he should receive his final orders, of which he was in daily expectation. And at last, on the 28th of June 1740, the Duke of Newcastle, principal secretary of state, delivered to him his Majesty's instructions, dated January 31st, 1739, with an additional instruction from the Lords Justices, dated June 19th, 1740. On the receipt of these, Mr. Anson immediately repaired to Spithead, with a resolution to sail with the first fair wind, flattering himself that all his difficulties were now at an end. For though he knew by the musters, that his squadron wanted three hundred seamen of their complement, (a deficiency which, with all his assiduity, he had not been able to get supplied) yet as Sir Charles Wager informed him, that an order from the Board of Admiralty was dispatched to Sir John Norris, to spare him the numbers which he wanted, he doubted not of its being complied with. But on his arrival at Portsmouth, he found himself greatly mistaken, and disappointed in this persuasion; for, on his application, Sir John Norris told him he could spare him none, for he wanted men for his own fleet. This occasioned an inevitable, and a very considerable delay; for it was the end of July before this deficiency was by any means supplied; and all that was then done was extremely short of his necessities and expectation. For Admiral Balchen, who succeeded to the command at Spithead, after Sir John Norris had sailed to the westward, instead of three hundred able sailors which Mr. Anson wanted of his complement, ordered on board the squadron a hundred and seventy men only; of which thirty two were from the hospital and sick quarters, thirty seven from the Salisbury, with three officers from Colonel Lowther's regiment, and ninety eight

marines, and these were all that were ever granted to make up the fore mentioned deficiency.

But the Commodore's mortification did not end here. It has been already observed, that it was at first intended, that Colonel Bland's regiment, and three independent companies of a hundred men each, should embark as land-forces on board the squadron. But this disposition was now changed, and all the land forces that were to be allowed, were five hundred invalids to be collected from the out-pensioners of Chelsea college. As these out-pensioners consist of soldiers, who, from their age, wounds, or other infirmities, are incapable of service in marching regiments, Mr. Anson was greatly chagrined at having such a decrepit detachment allotted him; for he was fully persuaded that the greatest part of them would perish long before they arrived at the scene of action, since the delays he had already encountered necessarily confined his passage round Cape Horn to the most rigorous season of the year. Sir Charles Wager too, joined in opinion with the Commodore, that invalids were nowise proper for this service, and solicited strenuously to have them exchanged; but he was told, that persons who were supposed to be better judges of soldiers than he or Mr. Anson, thought them the properest men that could be employed on this occasion; and, upon this determination, they were ordered on board the squadron on the 5th of August. But, instead of five hundred, there came on board no more than two hundred and fifty nine; for all those who had limbs and strength to walk out of Portsmouth, deserted, leaving behind them only such as were literally invalids, most of them being sixty years of age, and some of them upwards of seventy. Indeed it is difficult to conceive a more moving scene than the embarkation of these unhappy veterans. They were themselves extremely averse to the service they were engaged in, and fully apprized of all the disasters they were afterwards exposed to; the apprehensions of which were strongly marked by the concern that appeared in their countenances, which was mixed with no small degree of indignation, to be thus hurried from their repose into a fatiguing employ, to which neither the strength of their bodies, nor the vigour of their minds, were any ways

proportioned; and where, without seeing the face of an enemy, or in the least promoting the success of the enterprise, they would, in all probability, uselessly perish by lingering and painful diseases; and this too, after they had spent the activity and strength of their youth in their country's service.

I cannot but observe on this melancholy incident, how extremely unfortunate it was, both to this aged and diseased detachment, and to the expedition they were employed in, that amongst all the out pensioners of Chelsea-hospital, which were supposed to amount to two thousand men, the most crazy and infirm only should be called out for so laborious and perilous an undertaking. For it was well known, that however unfit invalids in general might be for this service, yet, by a prudent choice, there might have been found amongst them, five hundred men who had some remains of vigour left: and Mr. Anson fully expected that the best of them would have been allotted him; whereas the whole detachment that was sent to him, seemed to be made up of the most decrepit and miserable objects that could be collected out of the whole body; and by the desertion above mentioned, these were a second time cleared of that little health and strength which were to be found amongst them, and he was to take up with such as were much fitter for an infirmary than for any military duty.

And here it is necessary to mention another material particular in the equipment of this squadron. It was proposed to Mr. Anson, after it was resolved that he should be sent to the South Seas, to take with him two persons under the denomination of agent victuallers. Those who were mentioned for this employment, had formerly been in the Spanish West Indies, in the South Sea Company's service; and it was supposed, that by their knowledge and intelligence, on that coast, they might often procure provisions for him by compact with the inhabitants, when it was not to be got by force of arms. These agent victuallers were, for this purpose, to be allowed to carry to the value of £. 15,000 in merchandise on board the squadron; for they had represented, that

it would be much easier for them to procure provisions with goods, than with the value of the same goods in money. Whatever colours were given to this scheme, it was difficult to persuade the generality of mankind, that it was not principally intended for the enrichment of the agents, by the beneficial commerce they proposed to carry on upon that coast. Mr. Anson, from the beginning, objected both to the appointment of agent victuallers, and the allowing them to carry a cargo on board the squadron; for he conceived, that in those few amicable ports where the squadron might touch, he needed not their assistance to contract for any provisions the place afforded; and on the enemy's coast, he did not imagine that they could ever procure him the necessaries he should want, unless (which he was resolved not to comply with) the military operations of his squadron were to be regulated by the ridiculous views of their trading projects. All that he thought the government ought to have done on this occasion was, to put on board to the value of two or three thousand pounds only, of such goods as the Indians, or the Spanish planters, in the less cultivated parts of the coast, might be tempted with; since it was in such places only that he imagined it would be worth while to truck with the enemy for provisions: and in these places it was sufficiently evident, a very small cargo would suffice.

But though the Commodore objected both to the appointment of these officers, and to their project, of the success of which he had no opinion; yet, as they had insinuated that their scheme, besides victualling the squadron, might contribute to settling a trade upon that coast, which might be afterwards carried on without difficulty, and might thereby prove a very considerable national advantage, they were much listened to by some considerable persons. And of the £. 15,000, which was to be the amount of their cargo, the government agreed to advance them £. 10,000 upon interest, and the remaining £. 5,000, they raised on bottomry bonds; and the goods purchased with this sum were all that were taken to sea by the squadron, how much soever the amount of them might be afterwards magnified by common report.

This cargo was at first shipped on board the *Wager* store-ship and one of the victuallers, no part of it being admitted on board the men of war. But when the Commodore was at St. Catharine's, he considered that in case the squadron should be separated, it might be pretended that some of the ships were disappointed of provisions for want of a cargo to truck with, and therefore he distributed some of the least bulky commodities on board the men of war, leaving the remainder principally on board the *Wager*, where it was lost; and more of the goods perishing by various accidents to be recited hereafter, and no part of them being disposed of upon the coast, the few that came home to England did not produce, when sold, above a fourth part of the original price. So true was the Commodore's judgement of the event of this project, which had been by many considered as infallibly productive of immense gains. But to return to the transactions at Portsmouth.

To supply the place of the two hundred and forty invalids which had deserted, as is mentioned above, there were ordered on board two hundred and ten marines detached from different regiments; these were raw and undisciplined men; for they were just raised, and had scarcely any thing more of the soldier than their regimentals, none of them having been so far trained as to be permitted to fire. The last detachment of these marines came on board the 8th of August; and on the 10th, the squadron sailed from Spithead to St. Helen's, there to wait for a wind to proceed on the expedition.

But the delays we had already suffered had not yet spent all their influence; for we were now advanced into a season of the year when the westerly winds are usually very constant and very violent; and it was thought proper that we should put to sea in company with the fleet commanded by Admiral Balchen and the expedition under Lord Cathcart. As we made up, in all, twenty one men of war, and a hundred and twenty four sail of merchantmen and transports, we had no hopes of getting out of the channel with so large a number of ships, without the continuance of a fair wind for some considerable time. This was what we had every day less and less reason to

expect, as the time of the equinox drew near ; so that our golden dreams, and our ideal possession of the Peruvian treasures, grew each day more faint, and the difficulties and dangers of the passage round Cape Horn, in the winter season, filled our imaginations in their room. For it was forty days from our arrival at St. Helen's, to our final departure from thence. And even then (having orders to proceed without Lord Cathcart) we tided it down the channel with a contrary wind. But this interval of forty days was not free from the displeasing fatigue of often setting sail, and being as often obliged to return ; nor exempt from dangers, greater than have been sometimes undergone in surrounding the globe. For the wind coming fair, for the first time, on the 23d of August, we got under sail, and Mr. Balchen shewed himself truly solicitous to have proceeded to sea ; but the wind soon returning to its old quarter, obliged us to put back to St. Helen's, not without considerable hazard, and some damage received by two of the transports, who, in tacking, ran foul of each other. Besides this, we made two or three more attempts to sail, but without any better success. And on the 6th of September, being returned to an anchor at St. Helen's after one of these fruitless efforts, the wind blew so fresh, that the whole fleet struck their yards and top masts to prevent driving : yet, notwithstanding this precaution, the Centurion drove the next evening, and brought both cables a-head, and we were in no small danger of driving foul of the Prince Frederick, a seventy gun ship, moored at a small distance under our stern ; though we happily escaped, by her driving at the same time, and so preserving her distance. But we did not think ourselves secure till we, at last, let go the sheet-anchor, which fortunately brought us up. However, on the 9th of September, we were, in some degree, relieved from this lingering, vexatious situation, by an order which Mr. Anson received from the Lords Justices, to put to sea, the first opportunity, with his own squadron only, if Lord Cathcart should not be ready. Being thus freed from the troublesome company of so large a fleet, our Commodore resolved to weigh, and tide it down the channel, as soon as the weather should become sufficiently moderate ; and this might easily have been done with our

own Squadron alone, full two months sooner, had the orders of the Admiralty, for supplying us with seamen, been punctually complied with, and had we met with none of those other delays mentioned in this narration. It is true, our hopes of a speedy departure were even now somewhat damped, by a subsequent order which Mr. Anson received on the 12th of September; for by that he was required to take under his convoy the *St. Albans*, with the Turkey fleet, and to join the *Dragon* and the *Winchester*, with the Straits and American trade, at Torbay or Plymouth, and to proceed with them to sea as far as their way and ours lay together. This incumbrance of a convey gave us some uneasiness, as we feared it might prove the means of lengthening our passage to the *Madeiras*. However, Mr. Anson now having the command himself, resolved to adhere to his former determination, and to tide it down the channel with the first moderate weather; and that the junction of his convoy might occasion as little loss of time as possible, he immediately sent directions to Torbay, that the fleets he was there to take under his care might be in readiness to join him instantly on his approach. And, at last, on the 18th of September, he weighed from *St. Helen's*; and though the wind was at first contrary, had the good fortune to get clear of the channel in four days, as will be more particularly related in the ensuing chapter.

Having thus gone through the respective steps taken in the equipment of this Squadron, it is sufficiently obvious how different an aspect this expedition bore at its first appointment, in the beginning of January, from what it had in the latter end of September when it left the channel; and how much its numbers, its strength, and the probability of its success, were diminished by the various incidents which took place in that interval. For, instead of having all our old and ordinary seamen exchanged for such as were young and able, (which the Commodore was at first promised), and having our numbers completed to their full complement, we were obliged to retain our first crews, which were very indifferent; and a deficiency of three hundred men in our numbers was no otherwise made up to us, than by sending us on board a hundred

and seventy men, the greatest part composed of such as were discharged from hospitals, or new raised marines, who had never been at sea before. And in the land forces allotted us, the change was still more disadvantageous; for there, instead of three independent companies, of a hundred men each, and Bland's regiment of foot, which was an old one, we had only four hundred and seventy invalids and marines, one part of them incapable for action by age and infirmities, and the other part useless by their ignorance of their duty. But the diminishing the strength of the squadron, was not the greatest inconveniency which attended these alterations; for the contests, representations, and difficulties which they continually produced, (as we have above seen, that in these cases the authority of the Admiralty was not always submitted to) occasioned a delay and waste of time, which, in its consequences, was the source of all the disasters to which this enterprise was afterwards exposed. For by this means, we were obliged to make our passage round Cape Horn, in the most tempestuous season of the year; whence proceeded the separation of our squadron, the loss of numbers of our men, and the imminent hazard of our total destruction. By this delay, too, the enemy had been so well informed of our designs, that a person who had been employed in the South Sea company's service, and arrived from Panama three or four days before we left Portsmouth, was able to relate to Mr. Anson most of the particulars of the destination and strength of our squadron, from what he had learned amongst the Spaniards before he left them. And this was afterwards confirmed by a more extraordinary circumstance: for we shall find, that when the Spaniards, (fully satisfied that our expedition was intended for the South Seas) had fitted out a squadron to oppose us, which had so far got the start of us, as to arrive before us off the island of Madeira, the commander of this squadron was so well instructed in the form and make of Mr. Anson's broad pendant, and had imitated it so exactly, that he thereby decoyed the Pearl, one of our squadron, within gun shot of him, before the captain of the Pearl was able to discover his mistake.

C H A P. II.

The Passage from St. HELEN's to the Island of Madeira; with a short Account of that Island, and of our stay there.

ON the 18th of September, 1740, the squadron, as we have observed in the preceding chapter, weighed from St. Helen's with a contrary wind, the Commodore proposing to tide it down the channel, as he dreaded less the inconveniences he should thereby have to struggle with, than the risk he should run of ruining the enterprize, by an uncertain, and, in all probability, a tedious attendance for a fair wind.

The squadron allotted to this service consisted of five men of war, a sloop of war, and two victualling ships. They were the Centurion, of sixty guns, four hundred men, George Anson, Esq; commander; the Gloucester, of fifty guns, three hundred men, Richard Norris commander; the Severn, of fifty guns, three hundred men, the honourable Edward Legg commander; the Pearl, of forty guns, two hundred and fifty men, Matthew Mitchell commander; the Wager, of twenty eight guns, one hundred and sixty men, Dandy Kidd commander; and the Tryal sloop, of eight guns, one hundred men, the honourable John Murray commander; the two victuallers were pinks, the largest of about four hundred, and the other of about two hundred tons burden. These were to attend us till the provisions we had taken on board were so far consumed, as to make room for the additional quantity they carried with them, which when we had taken into our ships they were to be discharged. Besides the complement of men borne by the above mentioned ships, as their crews, there were embarked on board the squadron about four hundred and seventy invalids and marines, under the denomination of land forces (as has been particularly mentioned in the preceding chapter) which were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Crocherode. With this squadron, together with the St. Albans and the Lark, and the trade un-

der their convoy, Mr. Anson, after weighing from St. Helen's, tided it down the channel for the first forty-eight hours; and on the 20th, in the morning, we discovered off the Ram head, the Dragon, Winchester, South Sea Castle, and Rye, with a number of merchantmen under their convoy: these we joined about noon the same day, our Commodore having orders to see them (together with the St. Albans and Lark) as far into the sea as their course and ours lay together. When we came in sight of this last-mentioned fleet, Mr. Anson first hoisted his broad pendant, and was saluted by all the men of war in company.

When we had joined this last convoy, we made up eleven men of war, and about one hundred and fifty sail of merchantmen, consisting of the Turkey, the Straits, and the American trade. Mr. Anson, the same day, made a signal for all the captains of the men of war, to come on board him, where he delivered them their fighting and sailing instructions, and then, with a fair wind, we all stood towards the south-west; and the next day at noon, being the 21st, we had run forty leagues from the Ram head. Being now clear of the land, our Commodore, to render our view more extensive, ordered Captain Mitchell, in the Pearl, to make sail two leagues a-head of the fleet every morning, and to repair to his station every evening. Thus we proceeded till the 25th, when the Winchester and the American convoy made the concerted signal for leave to separate, which being answered by the Commodore, they left us; as the St. Albans and the Dragon, with the Turkey and Straits convoy, did on the 29th. After which separation, there remained in company only our own squadron and our two victuallers; with which we kept on our course for the island of Madeira. But the winds were so contrary, that we had the mortification to be forty days in our passage thither from St. Helen's, though it is known to be often done in ten or twelve. This delay was a most unpleasant circumstance, productive of much discontent and ill-humour amongst our people, of which those only can have a tolerable idea, who have had the experience of a like situation. For, besides the peevishness and dispondency which foul and contrary winds, and a lingering

voyage, never fail to create on all occasions, we, in particular, had very substantial reasons to be greatly alarmed at this unexpected impediment; since, as we had departed from England much later than we ought to have done, we had placed almost all our hopes of success in the chance of retrieving, in some measure, at sea, the time we had so unhappily wasted at Spithead and St. Helen's. However, at last, on Monday, October the 25th, at five in the morning, we, to our great joy, made the land, and, in the afternoon, came to an anchor in Madeira road, in forty fathom water; the Brazen head bearing from us E. by S. the Loo N. N. W. and the great church N. N. E. We had hardly let go our anchor, when an English privateer sloop ran under our stern, and saluted the Commodore with nine guns, which we returned with five. And, the next day the consul of the island visiting the Commodore, we saluted him with nine guns on his coming on board.

This island of Madeira, where we are now arrived, is famous through all our American settlements for its excellent wines, which seem to be designed by Providence for the refreshment of the inhabitants of the torrid Zone. It is situated in a fine climate, in the latitude of $32: 27$ north; and in the longitude from London, (by our different reckonings), of $18^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$ to $19^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$ west, though laid down in the charts in 17° . It is composed of one continued hill, of a considerable height, extending itself from east to west; the declivity of which, on the south side, is cultivated and interspersed with vineyards; and, in the midst of this slope, the merchants have fixed their country-seats, which help to form a very agreeable prospect. There is but one considerable town in the whole island; it is named Funchiale, and is seated on the south part of the island, at the bottom of a large bay. Towards the sea, it is defended by a high wall, with a battery of cannon, besides a castle on the Loo, which is a rock standing in the water, at a small distance from the shore. Funchiale is the only place of trade, and, indeed, the only place where it is possible for a boat to land: and even here the beach is covered with large stones, and a violent surf continually beats upon it; so that the Commodore did not care to venture the ships long boats to fetch the water off, there was

so much danger of their being lost; and therefore ordered the captains of the squadron to employ Portuguese boats on that service.

We continued about a week at this island, watering our ships, and providing the squadron with wine, and other refreshments. Here, on the 3d of November, Captain Richard Norris signified, by a letter to the Commodore, his desire to quit his command on board the Gloucester, in order to return to England for the recovery of his health. This request the Commodore complied with; and thereupon was pleased to appoint Captain Matthew Mitchell to command the Gloucester in his room, and to remove Captain Kidd from the Wager to the Pearl, and Captain Murray from the Tryal sloop to the Wager, giving the command of the Tryal to Lieutenant Cheap. These promotions being settled, with other changes in the Lieutenancies, the Commodore, on the following day, gave to the Captains their orders, appointing St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, to be the first place of rendezvous in case of a separation; and directing them, if they did not meet the Centurion there, to make the best of their way to the island of St. Catharine's, on the coast of Brazil. The water for the squadron being the same day completed, and each ship supplied with as much wine and other refreshments as they could take in, we weighed anchor in the afternoon, and took our leave of the island of Madeira. But, before I go on with the narration of our own transactions, I think it necessary to give some account of the proceedings of the enemy, and of the measures they had taken to render all our designs abortive.

When Mr. Anson visited the governor of Madeira, he received information from him, that, for three or four days in the latter end of October, there had appeared, to the westward of that island, seven or eight ships of the line, and a patache, which last was sent every day close in to make the land. The governor assured the Commodore, upon his honour, that none upon the island had either given them intelligence, or had, in any sort, communicated with them, but that he believed them to be either French or Spanish, but was rather inclined to think them Spanish.

On this intelligence, Mr. Anson sent an officer, in a clean sloop, eight leagues to the westward, to reconnoitre them, and, if possible, to discover what they were : but the officer returned without being able to get a sight of them, so that we still remained in uncertainty. However, we could not but conjecture, that this fleet was intended to put a stop to our expedition, which, had they cruised to the eastward of the island instead of the westward, they could not but have executed with great facility. For as, in that case, they must have certainly fallen in with us, we should have been obliged to throw over-board vast quantities of provision to clear our ships for an engagement : and this alone, without any regard to the event of the action, would have effectually prevented our progress. This was so obvious a measure, that we could not help imagining reasons which might have prevented them from pursuing it. And we therefore supposed, that this French or Spanish squadron was sent out upon advice of our sailing in company with Admiral Balchen, and Lord Cathcart's expedition : and thence, from an apprehension of being over-matched, they might not think it adviseable to meet with us till we had parted company, which, they might judge, would not happen before our arrival at this island. These were our speculations at that time ; and, from hence, we had reason to suppose, that we might still fall in with them in our way to the Cape de Verd islands. We afterwards, in the course of our expedition, were persuaded, that this was the Spanish Squadron commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro, which was sent out purposely to traverse the views and enterprises of our squadron, to which, in strength, they were greatly superior. As this Spanish armament then was so nearly connected with our expedition, and as the catastrophe it underwent, though not effected by our force, was yet a considerable advantage to this nation, produced in consequence of our equipment, I have, in the following chapter, given a summary account of their proceedings, from their first setting out from Spain, in the year 1740, till the Asia, the only ship of the whole squadron which returned to Europe, arrived at the Groyne, in the beginning of the year 1746.

C H A P. III.

The History of the Spanish Squadron, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro.

THE squadron fitted out by the court of Spain, to attend our motions, and traverse our projects, we supposed to have been the ships seen off Madeira, as mentioned in the preceding chapter. As this force was sent out particularly against our expedition, I cannot but imagine that the following history of the casualties it met with, as far as, by intercepted letters and other information, the same has come to my knowledge, is a very essential part of the present work; for by this it will appear we were the occasion, that a considerable part of the naval power of Spain was diverted from the prosecution of the ambitious views of that court in Europe; and the men and ships, lost by the enemy in this undertaking, were lost in consequence of the precautions they took to secure themselves against our enterprises. This squadron (besides two ships intended for the West Indies, which did not part company till after they had left the Madeiras) was composed of the following men of war, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro: The *Asia* of sixty-guns, and seven hundred men; this was the Admiral's ship: the *Guipuscoa* of seventy four guns, and seven hundred men: the *Hermiona* of fifty four guns, and five hundred men: the *Esperanza* of fifty guns, and four hundred and fifty men: and the *St. Estevan* of forty guns and three hundred and fifty men: and a *Patache* of twenty guns. These ships, over and above their complement of sailors and marines, had on board an old Spanish regiment of foot, intended to reinforce the garrisons on the coast of the South Seas. When this fleet had cruised for some days to the leeward of the Madeiras, as is mentioned in the preceding chapter, they left that station in the beginning of November, and steered for the river of Plate, where they arrived the 5th of January, O. S. and coming to an anchor in the bay of Maldonado, at the mouth of that river, their admiral Pizarro sent immediately to Buenos Ayres for a supply of provisions; for they had depart-

ed from Spain with only four months provisions on board. While they lay here expecting this supply, they received intelligence, by the treachery of the Portuguese governor of St. Catharine's, of Mr. Anson's having arrived at that island on the 21 of December preceding, and of his preparing to put to sea again with the utmost expedition. Pizarro, notwithstanding his superior force, had his reasons (and, as some say, his orders likewise) for avoiding our squadron any where short of the South Seas. He was besides extremely desirous of getting round Cape Horn before us, as he imagined that step alone would effectually baffle all our designs; and therefore, on hearing that we were in his neighbourhood, and that we should soon be ready to proceed for Cape Horn, he weighed anchor with the five large ships, (the *Patache* being disabled and condemned, and the men taken out of her), after a stay of seventeen days only, and got under sail without his provisions, which arrived at Maldonado within a day or two after his departure. But notwithstanding the precipitation with which he departed, we put to sea from St. Catharine's four days before him, and in some part of our passage to Cape Horn, the two squadrons were so nigh together, that the *Pearl*, one of our ships, being separated from the rest, fell in with the Spanish fleet, and mistaking the *Asia* for the *Centurion*, had got within gun shot of Pizarro, before she discovered her error, and narrowly escaped being taken.

It being the 22d of January when the Spaniards weighed from Maldonado, (as has been already mentioned) they could not expect to get into the latitude of Cape Horn before the equinox; and as they had reason to apprehend very tempestuous weather in doubling it at that season, and as the Spanish sailors, being, for the most part, accustomed to a fair weather country, might be expected to be very averse to so dangerous and fatiguing a navigation; the better to encourage them, some part of their pay was advanced to them in European goods, which they were to be permitted to dispose of in the South Seas, that so the hopes of the great profit each man was to make on his adventure, might animate him in his duty, and render him less disposed to repine at the labour, the hard-

ships, and the perils he would in all probability meet with before his arrival on the coast of Peru.

Pizarro, with his squadron, having, towards the latter end of February, run the length of Cape Horn, he then stood to the westward, in order to double it; but in the night of the last day of February, O. S. while with this view they were turning to windward, the Guipuscoa, the Hermiona, and the Esperanza, were separated from the Admiral; and on the 6th of March following, the Guipuscoa was separated from the other two; and on the 7th (being the day after we had passed Straits le Maire) there came on a most furious storm at N. W. which, in despite of all their efforts, drove the whole squadron to the eastward, and after several fruitless attempts, obliged them to bear away for the river of Plate, where Pizarro, in the Asia, arrived about the middle of May, and a few days after him the Esperanza and the Estevan. The Hermiona was supposed to founder at sea, for she was never heard of more; and the Guipuscoa was run ashore, and sunk on the coast of Brazil. The calamities of all kinds which this squadron underwent in this unsuccessful navigation, can only be paralleled by what we ourselves experienced in the same climate, when buffeted by the same storms. There was indeed some diversity in our distresses, which rendered it difficult to decide whose situation was most worthy of commiseration. For to all the misfortunes we had in common with each other, as shattered rigging, leaky ships, and the fatigues and dispondency which necessarily attend these disasters, there was superadded on board our squadron the ravage of a most destructive and incurable disease, and on board the Spanish squadron, the devastation of famine.

For this squadron, either from the hurry of their outset, their presumption of a supply at Buenos Ayres, or from other less obvious motives, departed from Spain, as has been already observed, with no more than four months provision on board, and even that, as it is said, at short allowance only; so that when by the storms they met with off Cape Horn, their continuance at sea was prolonged a month or more beyond their expectation, they were reduced to such infinite distress, that rats, when they

could be caught, were sold for four dollars a piece; and a sailor who died on board, had his death concealed for some days by his brother, who during that time lay in the same hammock with the corpse, only to receive the dead man's allowance of provisions. In this dreadful situation they were alarmed (if their horrors were capable of augmentation) by the discovery of a conspiracy among the marines on board the *Asia*, the Admiral's ship. This had taken its rise chiefly from the miseries they endured. For tho' no less was proposed by the conspirators than the massacring the officers and the whole crew, yet their motive for this bloody resolution seemed to be no more than their desire of relieving their hunger, by appropriating the whole ship's provisions to themselves. But their designs were prevented when just upon the point of execution, by means of one of their confessors; and three of their ring-leaders were immediately put to death. However, though the conspiracy was suppressed, their other calamities admitted of no alleviation, but grew each day more and more destructive. So that by the complicated distress of fatigue, sickness, and hunger, the three ships which escaped, lost the greatest part of their men. The *Asia*, their Admiral's ship, arrived at Monte Vedio, in the river of Plate, with half her crew only; the *St. Estevan* had lost in like manner half her hands, when she anchored in the Bay of Barragon: the *Esperanza*, a fifty gun ship, was still more unfortunate, for of four hundred and fifty hands which she brought from Spain, only fifty-eight remained alive, and the whole regiment of foot perished except sixty men. But to give the reader a more distinct and particular idea of what they underwent upon this occasion, I shall lay before him a short account of the fate of the *Guipuscoa*, extracted from a letter written by Don Joseph Mindinuetta her captain, to a person of distinction at Lima, a copy of which fell into our hands afterwards in the South Seas.

He mentions, that he separated from the *Hermiona* and the *Esperanza* in a fog, on the 6th of March, being then as I suppose to the S. E. of Staten Land, and plying to the westward: that, in the night after, it blew a furious storm at N. W. which, at half an hour after ten, split his main sail; and obliged him to bear away with

his fore sail ; that the ship went ten knots an hour with a prodigious sea, and often ran her gangway under water ; that he likewise sprung his main mast ; and the ship made so much water, that with four pumps and bailing, he could not free her : that on the 19th it was calm, but the sea continued so high, that the ship in rolling, opened all her upper works and seams, and started the butt ends of her planking, and the greatest part of her top-timbers, the bolts being drawn by the violence of her roll ; that in this condition, with other additional disasters to the hull and rigging, they continued beating to the westward till the 12th : that they were then in sixty degrees of south latitude, in great want of provisions, numbers every day perishing by the fatigue of pumping, and those who survived being quite dispirited by labour, hunger, and the severity of the weather, they having two spans of snow upon the decks ; that then finding the wind fixed in the western quarter, and blowing strong, and consequently their passage to the westward impossible, they resolved to bear away for the river of Plate : that, on the 22d, they were obliged to throw over-board all the upper deck guns, and an anchor, and take six turns of the cable round the ship to prevent her opening : that, on the 4th of April, it being calm, but a very heavy sea, the ship rolled so much, that the main mast came by the board, and in a few hours after, she lost, in like manner, her fore mast and her mizen-mast ; and that to accumulate their misfortunes, they were soon obliged to cut away their bow sprit, to diminish, if possible, the leakage at her head ; that, by this time, he had lost two hundred and fifty men by hunger and fatigue ; for those who were capable of working at the pumps, (at which every officer without exception took his turn), were allowed only an ounce and half of biscuit *per diem* ; and those who were so sick or so weak that they could not assist in this necessary labour, had no more than an ounce of wheat ; so that it was common for the men to fall down dead at the pumps : that, including the officers, they could only muster from eighty to a hundred persons capable of duty ; that the south-west winds blew so fresh, after they had lost their masts, that they could not immediately set up jury-masts, but were obliged to drive like a wreck, between the latitude of 32. and 28, till the 24th of April, when they made

the coast of Brazil at Rio de Patas, ten leagues to the southward of the island of St. Catharine's; that here they came to an anchor, and that the captain was very desirous of proceeding to St. Catharine's, if possible, in order to save the hull of the ship, and the guns and stores on board her; but the crew instantly left off pumping, and being enraged at the hardships they had suffered, and the numbers they had lost, (there being, at that time, no less than thirty dead bodies lying on the deck), they all with one voice cried out, *On shore, on shore*, and obliged the captain to run the ship in directly for the land, where, the fifth day after, she sunk with her stores and all her furniture on board her; but the remainder of the crew, whom hunger and fatigue had spared, to the number of four hundred, got safe on shore.

From this account of the adventures and catastrophe of the Guipuscoa, we may form some conjecture of the manner in which the Hermiona was lost, and of the distresses endured by the three remaining ships of the squadron, which got into the river of Plate. These last being in great want of masts, yards, rigging, and all kind of naval stores, and having no supply at Buenos Ayres, nor in any of their neighbouring settlements, Pizarro dispatched an advice boat, with a letter of credit, to Rio Janeiro, to purchase what was wanting from the Portuguese: he, at the same time, sent an express across the continent to St. Jago in Chili, to be thence forwarded to the viceroy of Peru, informing him of the disasters that had befallen the squadron, and desiring a remittance of 200,000 dollars from the royal chests at Lima, to enable him to victual and refit his remaining ships, that he might be again in a condition to attempt the passage to the South Seas, as soon as the season of the year should be more favourable. It is mentioned by the Spaniards as a most extraordinary circumstance, that the Indian charged with this express, (though it was then the depth of winter when the Cordilleras are esteemed impassible on account of the snow) was only thirteen days in his journey from Buenos Ayres to St. Jago in Chili; though these places are distant three hundred Spanish leagues, near forty of which are amongst the snows and precipices of the Cordilleras.

The return to this dispatch of Pizarro's from the viceroy of Peru was nowise favourable; instead of 200,000 dollars, the sum demanded, the viceroy remitted him only 100,000, telling him, that it was with great difficulty he was able to procure him even that; though the inhabitants of Lima, who considered the presence of Pizarro as absolutely necessary to their security, were much discontented at this procedure, and did not fail to assert, that it was not the want of money, but the interested views of some of the viceroy's confidants, that prevented Pizarro from having the whole sum he had asked for.

The advice boat sent to Rio Janeiro also executed her commission but imperfectly; for though she brought back a considerable quantity of pitch, tar, and cordage, yet she could not procure either masts or yards; and, as an additional misfortune, Pizarro was disappointed of some masts he expected from Paraguay; for a carpenter, whom he entrusted with a large sum of money, and had sent there to cut masts, instead of prosecuting the business he was employed in, had married in the country, and refused to return. However, by removing the masts of the *Esperanza* into the *Asia*, and making use of what spare masts and yards they had on board, they made a shift to refit the *Asia* and the *St. Estevan*; and, in the October following, Pizarro was preparing to put to sea with these two ships, in order to attempt the passage round Cape Horn a second time; but the *St. Estevan*, in coming down the river Plate, ran on a shoal, and beat off her rudder, on which, and other damages she received, she was condemned and broke up, and Pizarro, in the *Asia*, proceeded to sea without her. Having now the summer before him, and the winds favourable, no doubt was made of his having a fortunate and speedy passage; but, being off Cape Horn, and going right before the wind, in very moderate weather, though in a swelling sea, by some misconduct of the officer of the watch, the ship rolled away her masts, and was a second time obliged to put back to the river of Plate in great distress.

The *Asia* having considerably suffered in this second unfortunate expedition, the *Esperanza*, which had been left behind at Monte Vedio, was ordered to be refitted,

the command of her being given to Mindinuetta, who was captain of the Guipuscoa when she was lost. He, in the November of the succeeding year, that is, in November 1742, sailed from the river of Plate for the South Seas, and arrived safe on the coast of Chili, where his commodore Pizarro passing over land from Buenos Ayres met him. There were great animosities and contests between these two gentlemen at their meeting, occasioned principally by the claim of Pizarro to command the *Esperanza*, which Mindinuetta had brought round; for Mindinuetta refused to deliver her up to him, insisting, that as he came into the South Seas alone, and under no superior, it was not now in the power of Pizarro to resume that authority which he had once parted with. However, the president of Chili interposing, and declaring for Pizarro, Mindinuetta, after a long and obstinate struggle, was obliged to submit.

But Pizarro had not yet completed the series of his adventures; for when he and Mindinuetta came back by land from Chili to Buenos Ayres, in the year 1745, they found at Monte Vedio the *Asia*, which, near three years before they had left there. This ship they resolved, if possible, to carry to Europe, and, with this view, they refitted her in the best manner they could; but their great difficulty was to procure a sufficient number of hands to navigate her, for all the remaining sailors of the squadron to be met with in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres, did not amount to an hundred men. They endeavoured to supply this defect by pressing many of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, and putting on board, besides, all the English prisoners then in their custody, together with a number of Portuguese smugglers, which they had taken at different times, and some of the Indians of the country. Among these last there was a chief, and ten of his followers, which had been surpris'd by a party of Spanish soldiers about three months before. The name of this chief was Orellana; he belonged to a very powerful tribe, which had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. With this motely crew (all of them, except the European Spaniards, extremely averse to the voyage) Pizarro set sail from Monte Vedio, in the river of Plate, about the beginning of November 1745; and

the native Spaniards being no strangers to the dissatisfaction of their forced men, treated both these, the English prisoners, and the Indians, with great insolence and barbarity; but more particularly the Indians; for it was common for the meanest officers in the ship to beat them most cruelly on the slightest pretences, and oftentimes only to exert their superiority. Orellana and his followers, though, in appearance, sufficiently patient and submissive, meditated a severe revenge for all these inhumanities. As he conversed very well in Spanish, (these Indians having, in time of peace, a great intercourse with Buenos Ayres), he affected to talk with such of the English as understood that language, and seemed very desirous of being informed how many Englishmen there were on board, and what they were. As he knew that the English were as much enemies to the Spaniards as himself, he had doubtless an intention of disclosing his purposes to them, and making them partners in the scheme he had projected for revenging his wrongs, and recovering his liberty: but, having sounded them at a distance, and not finding them so precipitate and vindictive as he expected, he proceeded no further with them, but resolved to trust alone to the resolution of his ten faithful followers. These it should seem readily engaged to observe his directions, and to execute whatever commands he gave them: and having agreed on the measures necessary to be taken, they first furnished themselves with Dutch knives sharp at the point, which being the common knives used in the ship, they found no difficulty in procuring. Besides this, they employed their leisure in secretly cutting out thongs from raw hides, of which there were great numbers on board, and in fixing to each end of these thongs the double headed shot of the small quarter-deck guns; this, when swung round their heads, according to the practice of their country, was a most mischievous weapon, in the use of which, the Indians about Buenos Ayres are trained from their infancy, and consequently are extremely expert. These particulars being in good forwardness, the execution of their scheme was perhaps precipitated by a particular outrage committed on Orellana himself; for one of the officers, who was a very brutal fellow, ordered Orellana aloft, which being what he was incapable of performing, the officer, under pretence of his disobedience, beat him with such violence

that he left him bleeding on the deck, and stupified for some time with his bruises and wounds. This usage undoubtedly heightened his thirst for revenge, and made him eager and impatient till the means of executing it were in his power; so that within a day or two after this incident, he and his followers opened their desperate resolves in the ensuing manner.

It was about nine of the evening when many of the principal officers were on the quarter deck indulging in the freshness of the night air; the waste of the ship was filled with live cattle, and the fore castle was manned with its customary watch. Orellana and his companions, under cover of the night, having prepared their weapons, and thrown off their trouzers and the more cumbrous part of their dress, came altogether on the quarter deck, and drew towards the door of the great cabin. The boatswain immediately reprimanded them, and ordered them to begone. On this Orellana spoke to his followers in his native language, when four of them drew off, towards each gangway, and the chief, and the six remaining Indians, seemed to be slowly quitting the quarter deck. When the detached Indians had taken possession of the gangway, Orellana placed his hands hollow to his mouth, and bellowed out the war cry used by those savages, which is said to be the harshest and most terrifying sound known in nature. This hideous yell was the signal for beginning the massacre: for on this they all drew their knives, and brandished their prepared double headed shot; and the six with their chief, who remained on the quarter deck, immediately fell on the Spaniards who were intermingled with them, and laid near forty of them at their feet, of which above twenty were killed on the spot, and the rest disabled. Many of the officers, in the beginning of the tumult, pushed into the great cabin, where they put out the lights, and barricadoed the door: whilst of the others, who had avoided the first fury of the Indians, some endeavoured to escape along the gangways into the fore-castle, where the Indians, placed on purpose, stabbed the greatest part of them as they attempted to pass by, or forced them off the gangways into the waste: some threw themselves voluntarily over the barricadoes into the waste, and thought themselves fortunate to lie concealed amongst the cattle;

but the greatest part escaped up the main shrouds, and sheltered themselves either in the tops or rigging. And though the Indians attacked only the quarter deck, yet the watch in the fore-castle finding their communication cut off, and being terrified by the wounds of the few, who, not being killed on the spot, had strength sufficient to force their passage, and not knowing either who their enemies were, or what were their numbers, they likewise gave all over for lost, and in great confusion ran up into the rigging of the foremast and bowsprit.

Thus these eleven Indians, with a resolution perhaps without example, possessed themselves, almost in an instant, of the quarter deck of a ship mounting sixty six guns, and manned with near five hundred hands, and continued in peaceable possession of this post a considerable time. For the officers in the great cabin, (amongst whom were Pizarro and Mindinuetta), the crew between decks, and those who had escaped into the tops and rigging, were only anxious for their own safety, and were for a long time incapable of forming any project for suppressing the insurrection, and recovering the possession of the ship. It is true, the yells of the Indians, the groans of the wounded, and the confused clamours of the crew, all heightened by the obscurity of the night, had first greatly magnified their danger, and had filled them with the imaginary terrors which darkness, disorder, and an ignorance of the real strength of an enemy, never fail to produce. For as the Spaniards were sensible of the disaffection of their prest hands, and were also conscious of their barbarity to their prisoners, they imagined the conspiracy was general, and considered their own destruction as infallible; so that, it is said, some of them had once taken the resolution of leaping into the sea, but were prevented by their companions.

However, when the Indians had entirely cleared the quarter deck, the tumult, in a great measure, subsided; for those who had escaped were kept silent by their fears, and the Indians were incapable of pursuing them to renew the disorder. Orellana, when he saw himself master of the quarter deck, broke open the arm chest, which, on a slight suspicion of mutiny, had been ordered there a few days before, as to a place of the greatest security. Here

he took it for granted he should find cutlasses sufficient for himself and his companions, in the use of which weapon they were all extremely skilful, and, with these, it was imagined, they proposed to have forced the great cabin : but, on opening the chest, there appeared nothing but fire arms; which, to them, were of no use. There were indeed cutlasses in the chest, but they were hid by the fire-arms being laid over them. This was a sensible disappointment to them ; and by this time Pizarro and his companions in the great cabin, were capable of conversing aloud through the cabin windows and port holes with those in the gun room and between decks ; and from hence they learned, that the English (whom they principally suspected) were all safe below, and had not intermeddled in this mutiny ; and, by other particulars, they at last discovered that none were concerned in it but Orellana and his people. On this, Pizarro and the officers resolved to attack them on the quarter deck, before any of the discontented on board should so far recover their first surprise, as to reflect on the facility and certainty of seizing the ship, by a junction with the Indians in the present emergency. With this view, Pizarro got together what arms were in the cabin, and distributed them to those who were with him : but there were no other fire arms to be met with but pistols, and for these they had neither powder nor ball. However, having now settled a correspondence with the gun room, they lowered down a bucket out of the cabin-window, into which the gunner, out of one of the gun-room ports, put a quantity of pistol cartridges. When they had thus procured amunition, and had loaded their pistols, they set the cabin-door partly open, and fired several shot amongst the Indians on the quarter deck, though at first without effect ; but at last Mindinuetta, whom we have often mentioned, had the good fortune to shoot Orellana dead on the spot ; on which his faithful companions, abandoning all thoughts of farther resistance, instantly leaped into the sea, where they every man perished. Thus was this insurrection quelled, and the possession of the quarter-deck regained, after it had been full two hours in the power of this great and daring chief, and his gallant unhappy countrymen.

Pizarro having escaped this imminent peril, steered for
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Europe, and arrived safe on the coast of Galicia, in the beginning of the year 1746, after having been absent between four and five years, and having by his attendance on our expedition, diminished the naval power of Spain by above three thousand hands, (the flower of their sailors) and by four considerable ships of war and a patache. For we have seen, that the *Hermiona* foundered at sea; the *Guipuscoa* was stranded and sunk on the coast of Brazil; the *St. Estevan* was condemned, and broke up in the river of Plate; and the *Esperanza* being left in the South Seas, is, doubtless, by this time incapable of returning to Spain. So that the *Asia* only, with less than one hundred hands, may be regarded as all the remains of that squadron with which Pizarro first put to sea. And whoever considers the very large proportion which this squadron bore to the whole navy of Spain, will, I believe, confess, that had our undertaking been attended with no other advantages than that of ruining so great a part of the sea-force of so dangerous an enemy, this alone would be a sufficient equivalent for our equipment, and an incontestable proof of the service which the nation has thence received. Having thus concluded this summary of Pizarro's adventures, I shall now return again to the narration of our own transactions.

C H A P. IV.

From MADEIRA to St. CATHARINE'S.

I HAVE already mentioned, that, on the 3d of November, we weighed from Madeira, after orders had been given to the captains to rendezvous at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, in case the squadron was separated. But the next day when we were got to sea, the Commodore, considering that the season was far advanced, and that touching at St. Jago would create a new delay, he, for this reason, thought proper to alter his rendezvous, and to appoint the island of St. Catharine's, on the coast of Brazil, to be the first place to which the ships of the squadron were to repair in case of separation.

In our passage to the island of St. Catharine's, we found

the direction of the trade-winds to differ considerably from what we had reason to expect, both from the general histories given of these winds, and the experience of former navigators. For the learned Doctor Halley, in his account of the trade winds, which take place in the Ethiopic and Atlantic ocean, tells us, that from the latitude of 28° N. to the latitude of 10° N. there is generally a fresh gale of N. E. wind, which, towards the African side, rarely comes to the eastward of E. N. E. or passes to the northward of N. N. E. : but on the American side, the wind is somewhat more easterly, though most commonly, even there, it is a point or two to the northward of the east : that from 10° N. to 4° N. the calms and tornadoes take place ; and from 4° N. to 30° S. the winds are generally and perpetually between the south and the east. This account we expected to have verified by our own experience ; but we found considerable variations from it, both in respect to the steadiness of the winds, and the quarter from whence they blew. For though we met with a N. E. wind about the latitude of 28° N. yet, from the latitude of 25° to the latitude of 18° N. the wind was never once to the northward of the east, but, on the contrary, almost constantly to the southward of it. However, from thence to the latitude of $6^{\circ} : 20'$ N. we had it usually to the northward of the east, though not entirely, it having for a short time changed to E. S. E. : from hence, to about $4^{\circ} 46'$ N. the weather was very unsettled ; sometimes the wind was N. E. then changed to S. E. and sometimes we had a dead calm, attended with small rain and lightning. After this, the wind continued almost invariably between the S. and E. to the latitude $7^{\circ} 36'$ S. : and then again as invariably between the N. and E. to the latitude of $15^{\circ} 30'$ S. : then E. and S. E. to $21^{\circ} : 37'$ S. But after this, even to the latitude of $27^{\circ} : 44'$ S. the wind was never once between the S. and the E. though we had it at times in all the other quarters of the compass. But this last circumstance may be in some measure accounted for, from our approach to the main continent of the Brazils. I mention not these particulars with a view of cavilling at the received accounts of these trade-winds, which I doubt not are in general sufficiently accurate ; but I thought it a matter worthy of public notice, that such deviations from the established rules do sometimes take place. Be-

sides, this observation may not only be of service to navigators, by putting them on their guard against these hitherto unexpected irregularities, but is a circumstance necessary to be attended to in the solution of that great question about the causes of the trade winds and monsoons: a question, which, in my opinion, has not been hitherto discussed with that clearness and accuracy which its importance (whether it be considered as a naval or philosophical inquiry) seems to demand.

On the 16th of November, one of our victuallers made a signal to speak with the Commodore, and we shortened sail for her to come up with us. The master came on board, and acquainted Mr. Anson, that he had complied with the terms of his charter party, and desired to be unloaded and dismissed. Mr. Anson, on consulting the captains of the squadron, found all the ships had still such quantities of provision between their decks, and were withal so deep, that they could not, without great difficulty, take in their several proportions of brandy from the *Industry* pink, one of the victuallers only; consequently he was obliged to continue the other of them, the *Anna* pink, in the service of attending the squadron. This being resolved on, the Commodore the next day made a signal for the ships to bring to, and to take on board their shares from the *Industry* pink: and in this the long boats of the squadron were employed the three following days, that is, till the 19th in the evening, when the pink being unloaded, she parted company with us, being bound for Barbadoes, there to take in a freight for England. Most of the officers of the squadron took the opportunity of writing to their friends at home by this ship; but she was afterwards, as I have been since informed, unhappily taken by the Spaniards.

On the 20th of November, the captains of the squadron represented to the Commodore, that their ships companies were very sickly; and that it was their own opinion, as well as their surgeons, that it would tend to the preservation of the men to let in more air between decks; but that their ships were so deep, they could not possibly open their lower ports. On this representation, the Commodore ordered six air-scuttles to be cut in each ship, in such places where they would least weaken it.

And on this occasion I cannot but observe, how much it is the duty of all those, who, either by office or authority, have any influence in the direction of our naval affairs, to attend to this important article, the preservation of the lives and health of our seamen. If it could be supposed that the motives of humanity were insufficient for this purpose, yet policy and a regard to the success of our arms, and the interest and honour of each particular commander, should naturally lead us to a careful and impartial examination of every probable method proposed for maintaining a ship's crew in health and vigour. But hath this been always done? have the late invented, plain, and obvious methods of keeping our ships sweet and clean, by a constant supply of fresh air, been considered with that candour and temper, which the great benefits promised hereby ought naturally to have inspired? On the contrary, have not these salutary schemes been often treated with neglect and contempt? and have not some of those who have been entrusted with experimenting their effects, been guilty of the most indefensible partiality in the accounts they have given of these trials? Indeed it must be confessed, that many distinguished persons, both in the direction and command of our fleets, have exerted themselves on these occasions, with a judicious and dispassionate examination, becoming the interesting nature of the inquiry; but the wonder is, that any could be found irrational enough to act a contrary part, in despite of the strongest dictates of prudence and humanity. I must however own, that I do not believe this conduct to have arisen from motives so savage as the first reflection thereon does naturally suggest; but I rather impute it to an obstinate, and, in some degree, superstitious attachment to such practices as have been long established, and to a settled contempt and hatred of all kinds of innovations, especially such as are projected by landmen, and persons residing on shore. But let us return from this, I hope not impertinent, digression.

We crossed the equinoctial with a fine fresh gale at S. E. on Friday the 28th of November, at four in the morning, being then in the longitude of $27^{\circ} : 59'$ west from London; and, on the second of December, in the morning, we saw a sail in the N. W. quarter, and made

the Gloucester's and Tryal's signals to chace; and, half an hour after, we let out our reefs, and chased with the Squadron; and about noon a signal was made for the Wager, to take our remaining victualler, the Anna Pink, in tow: but at seven in the evening, finding we did not near the chace, and that the Wager was very far a stern, we shortened sail, and made a signal for the cruisers to join the Squadron. The next day but one we again discovered a sail, which, on a nearer approach, we judged to be the same vessel. We chased her the whole day, and tho' we rather gained upon her, yet night came on before we could overtake her, which obliged us to give over the chace, and to collect our scattered Squadron. We were much chagrined at the escape of this vessel, as we then apprehended her to be an advice boat sent from Old Spain to Buenos Ayres, with notice of our expedition; but we have since learned, that we were deceived in this conjecture, and that it was our East India Company's packet bound to St. Helena.

On the 10th of December, being by our accounts in the latitude of 20° S. and $36^{\circ} 30'$ longitude west from London, the Tryal fired a gun to denote soundings. We immediately sounded, and found sixty fathom water, the bottom coarse ground with broken shells. The Tryal being a head of us, had at one time thirty seven fathom, which afterwards increased to ninety: and then she found no bottom, which happened to us too at our second trial, though we sounded with an hundred and fifty fathom line. This is the shoal which is laid down in most charts by the name of the Abrollos; and it appeared we were upon the very edge of it: perhaps farther in it may be extremely dangerous. We were then, by our different accounts, from ninety to sixty leagues east of the coast of Brazil. The next day but one we spoke with a Portuguese brigantine from Rio Janeiro, bound to Bahaia del Todos Santos, who informed us, that we were thirty four leagues from Cape St. Thomas, and forty leagues from Cape Frio, which last bore from us W. S. W. By our accounts we were near eighty leagues from Cape Frio; and though, on the information of this brigantine, we altered our course, and stood more to the southward, yet by our coming in with the land afterwards, we were fully

convinced that our reckoning was much correcter than our Portuguese intelligence. We found a considerable current setting to the southward, after we had passed the latitude of 16° S. and the same took place all along the coast of Brazil, and even to the southward of the river Plate, it amounting sometimes to thirty miles in twenty-four hours, and once to above forty miles.

If this current is occasioned (as it is most probable) by the running off of the water accumulated on the coast of Brazil, by the constant sweeping of the eastern trade-wind over the Ethiopic ocean, then it is most natural to suppose that its general course is determined by the bearings of the adjacent shore. Perhaps too, in almost every other instance of currents, the same may hold true, as I believe no examples occur of considerable currents being observed at any great distance from land. If this then could be laid down for a general principle, it would be always easy to correct the reckoning by the observed latitude. But it were much to be wished, for the general interests of navigation, that the actual settings of the different currents, which are known to take place in various parts of the world, were examined more frequently and accurately than hitherto appears to have been done.

We now began to grow impatient for a sight of land, both for the recovery of our sick, and for the refreshment and security of those who as yet continued healthy. When we departed from St. Helen's, we were in so good a condition, that we lost but two men on board the Centurion in our long passage to Madeira: but, in this present run, between Madeira and St. Catharine's, we were remarkably sickly, so that many died, and great numbers confined to their hammocks, both in our own ship, and in the rest of the Squadron, and several of these past all hopes of recovery. The disorders they in general laboured under, were such as are common to the hot climates, and what most ships bound to the southward experience in a greater or less degree. These are those kind of fevers which they usually call calentures; a disease which was not only terrible in its first instance, but even the remains of it often proved fatal to those who considered themselves as recovered from it: for it always left them in a very

weak and helpless condition, and usually afflicted either with fluxes or tenesmuses. By our continuance at sea, all these complaints were every day increasing, so that it was with great joy we discovered the coast of Brazil, on the 18th of December, at seven in the morning.

The coast of Brazil appeared high and mountainous land, extending from W. to W. S. W. and when we first saw it, it was about seventeen leagues distant. At noon we perceived a low double land, bearing W. S. W. about ten leagues distant, which we took to be the island of St. Catharine's. That afternoon, and the next morning, the wind being N. N. W. we gained very little to windward, and were apprehensive of being driven to the leeward of the island; but a little before noon the next day, the wind came about to the southward, and enabled us to steer in between the north point of St. Catharine's, and the neighbouring island of Alvoredo. As we stood in for the land, we had regular soundings, gradually decreasing from thirty six to twelve fathom, all muddy ground. In this last depth of water, we let go our anchor at five o'clock in the evening of the 18th, the north-west point of the island of St. Catharine's bearing S. S. W. distant three miles; and the island Alvoredo N. N. E. distant two leagues. Here we found the tide to set S. S. E. and N. N. W. at the rate of two knots, the tide or flood coming from the southward. We could from our ships observe two fortifications at a considerable distance within us, which seemed designed to prevent the passage of an enemy between the island of St. Catharine's and the main. And we could soon perceive that our squadron had alarmed the coast, for we saw the two forts hoist their colours, and fire several guns, which we supposed were signals for assembling the inhabitants. To prevent any confusion, the Commodore immediately sent a boat with an officer on shore, to complement the Governor, and to desire a pilot to carry us into the road. The Governor returned a very civil answer, and ordered us a pilot. On the morning of the 20th we weighed and stood in, and towards noon the pilot came on board us, who the same afternoon brought us to an anchor in five fathom and an half, in a large commodious bay on the continent side, called by the French, Bon Port. In

standing from our last anchorage to this place, we every where found an oozy bottom, with a depth of water first regularly decreasing to five fathom, and then increasing to seven, after which we had six and five fathom alternately. The next morning we weighed again with the squadron, in order to run above the two fortifications we have mentioned, which are called the castles of Santa Cruz, and St. Juan. Our soundings now, between the island and the main, were four, five, and six fathom, with muddy ground. As we passed by the Castle of Santa Cruz, we saluted it with eleven guns, and were answered by an equal number; and at one in the afternoon, the squadron came to an anchor in five fathom and an half, the Governor's island bearing N. N. W. St. Juan's castle N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E and the island of St. Antonio south. In this position we moored at the island of St. Catharine's, on Sunday the 21st of December, the whole squadron being, as I have already mentioned, sickly, and in great want of refreshments; both which inconveniences we hoped to have soon removed at this settlement, celebrated by former navigators for its healthiness, and the plenty of its provisions, and for the freedom, indulgence, and friendly assistance there given to the ships of all European nations in amity with the crown of Portugal.

C H A P. V.

Proceedings at ST. CATHARINE'S, and a Description of the Place, with a short Account of BRAZIL.

OUR first care, after having moored our ships, was to get our sick men on shore; preparatory to which, each ship was ordered by the Commodore, to erect two tents; one of them for the reception of the diseased, and the other for the accommodation of the surgeon and his assistants. We sent about eighty sick from the Centurion; and the other ships, I believe, sent nearly as many, in proportion to the number of their hands. As soon as we had performed this necessary duty, we scraped our decks, and gave our ship a thorough cleansing, then smoked it between decks, and after all, washed every part well with vinegar. These operations were extremely necessary for cor-

recting the noisome stench on board, and destroying the vermin ; for from the number of our men, and the heat of the climate, both these nuisances had increased upon us to a very loathsome degree ; and besides being most intolerably offensive, they were doubtless, in some sort, productive of the sickness we had laboured under for a considerable time before our arrival at this island.

Our next employment was wooding and watering our squadron, calking our ship's sides and decks, overhauling our rigging, and securing our masts against the tempestuous weather we were, in all probability, to meet with in our passage round Cape Horn, in so advanced and inconvenient a season. But before I engage in the particulars of these transactions, it will not be improper to give some account of the present state of this island of St. Catharine's, and of the neighbouring country ; both as the circumstances of this place are now greatly changed from what they were in the time of former writers ; and as these changes laid us under many more difficulties and perplexities than we had reason to expect, or than other British ships, hereafter bound to the South Seas, may perhaps think it prudent to struggle with.

This island is esteemed by the natives to be no where above two leagues in breadth, though about nine in length : it lies in $49^{\circ} : 45'$ of west longitude from London, and extends from the south latitude of $27^{\circ} : 35'$, to that of 28° . Although it be of a considerable height, yet it is scarce discernible at the distance of ten leagues, being then obscured under the continent of Brazil, whose mountains are exceeding high ; but on a nearer approach, it is easy to be distinguished, and may be readily known by a number of small islands lying at each end, and scattered along the east side of it. In the plate marked (Plate I.) there is exhibited a very exact view of the N. E. end of the island, where (*a*) is its N. E. point, as it appears when it bears N. W. And (*b*) is the small island of Alvoredo, bearing N. N. W. at the distance of seven leagues. The best entrance to the harbour is between the point (*a*) and the island of Alvoredo, where ships may pass under the guidance of their lead, without the least apprehensions of danger. The view of this north entrance

of the harbour is represented in the second plate, where (a) is the N. W. end of St. Catharine's island, (b) Parrot island, (c) a battery on St. Catharine's, and (d) a battery on a small island near the continent. Frezier has given a draught of this island of St. Catharine's, and of the neighbouring coast, and the minuter isles adjacent; but he has, by mistake, called the island of Alvaredo, the isle de Gal; whereas the true isle de Gal lies seven or eight miles to the north westward of it, and is much smaller. He has also called an island, to the southward of St. Catharine's, Alvaredo, and has omitted the island Mafagura; in other respects his plan is sufficiently exact.

The north entrance of the harbour is in breadth about five miles; and the distance from thence to the island of St. Antonio, is eight miles; and the course from the entrance to St. Antonio, is S. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. About the middle of the island the harbour is contracted by two points of land, to a narrow channel, no more than a quarter of a mile broad; and to defend this passage a battery was erecting on the point of land on the island side. But this seems to be a very useless work, as the channel has no more than two fathom water, and consequently is navigable only for barks and boats; and therefore seems to be a passage that an enemy could have no inducement to attempt; especially as the common passage at the north end of the island, is so broad and safe that no squadron can be prevented from coming in by any of their fortifications, when the sea breeze is made. However, the brigadier Don Jose Sylva de Paz, the governor of this settlement, is esteemed an expert engineer, and he doubtless understands one branch of his business very well, which is, the advantages which new works bring to those who are entrusted with the care of erecting them: for besides the battery mentioned above, there are three other forts carrying on for the defence of the harbour, none of which are yet completed. The first of these, called St. Juan, is built on a point of St. Catharine's, near Parrot island; the second, in form of a half-moon, is on the island of St. Antonio; and the third, which seems to be the chief, and has some appearance of a regular fortification, is on an island near the continent, where the governor resides.

The soil of the island is truly luxuriant, producing fruits of many kinds spontaneously; and the ground is covered over with one continued forest of trees of a perpetual verdure, which, from the exuberance of the soil, are so entangled with briars, thorns, and under wood, as to form a thicket absolutely impenetrable, except by some narrow pathways which the inhabitants have made for their own convenience. These, with a few spots cleared for plantations along the shore, facing the continent, are the only uncovered parts of the island. The woods are extremely fragrant, from the many aromatic trees and shrubs with which they abound: and the fruits and vegetables of all climates thrive here, almost without culture, and are to be procured in great plenty; so that here is no want of pine apples, peaches, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, melons, apricots, nor plantains. There are, besides, great abundance of two other productions of no small consideration for a sea-store, I mean onions and potatoes. The flesh provisions are however much inferior to the vegetables: there are indeed small wild cattle to be purchased, somewhat like buffaloes; but these are very indifferent food, their flesh being of a loose contexture, and generally of a disagreeable flavour, which is probably owing to the wild calabash on which they feed. There are likewise great plenty of pheasants; but they are not to be compared in taste to those we have in England. The other provisions of the place are monkeys, parrots, and, above all, fish of various sorts; these abound in the harbour, are exceeding good, and are easily caught; for there are a great number of small sandy bays very convenient for hauling the Seine.

The water, both on the island and the opposite continent, is excellent, and preserves at sea as well as that of the Thames. For, after it has been in the cask a day or two, it begins to purge itself, and stinks most intolerably, and is soon covered over with a green scum: but this, in a few days, subsides to the bottom, and leaves the water as clear as crystal, and perfectly sweet. The French (who during their South Sea trade in Queen Anne's reign, first brought this place into repute) usually wooded and watered in Bon Port, on the continent side, where they anchored with great safety in six fathom water; and this is doubtless the most commodious road for such ships as intend to

make only a short stay. But we watered on the St. Catharine's side, at a plantation opposite to the island of St. Antonio.

These are the advantages of this island of St. Catharine's; but there are many inconveniences attending it, partly from its climate, but more from its new regulations, and the late form of government established there. With regard to the climate, it must be remembered, that the woods and hills which surround the harbour, prevent a free circulation of the air: and the vigorous vegetation which constantly takes place there, furnishes such a prodigious quantity of vapour, that, all the night, and a great part of the morning, a thick fog covers the whole country, and continues till either the sun gathers strength to dissipate it, or it is dispersed by a brisk sea-breeze. This renders the place close and humid, and probably occasioned the many fevers and fluxes we were there afflicted with. To these exceptions, I must not omit to add, that all the day we were pestered with great numbers of musquetoës, which are not much unlike the gnats in England, but more venomous in their stings. And, at sun set, when the musquetoës retired, they were succeeded by an infinity of sand flies, which, though scarce discernible to the naked eye, make a mighty buzzing, and, wherever they bite, raise a small bump in the flesh, which is soon attended with a painful itching, like that arising from the bite of an English harvest-bug. But, as the only light in which this place deserves our consideration, is its favourable situation for supplying and refreshing our cruisers intended for the South Seas; in this view its greatest inconveniences remain still to be related; and, to do this more distinctly, it will not be amiss to consider the changes which it has lately undergone, in its inhabitants, its police, and its governor.

In the time of Frezier and Shelvocke, this place served only as a retreat to vagabonds and outlaws, who fled thither from all parts of Brazil. They did indeed acknowledge a subjection to the crown of Portugal, and had a person among them whom they called their captain, who was considered, in some sort, as their governor; but both their allegiance to their king, and their obedience to their captain, seemed to be little more than verbal. For as they

had plenty of provisions, but no money, they were in a condition to support themselves without the assistance of any neighbouring settlements, and had not amongst them the means of tempting any adjacent governor to busy his authority about them. In this situation they were extremely hospitable and friendly to such foreign ships as came amongst them. For these ships, wanting only provisions, of which the natives had great store, and the natives wanting clothes, (for they often despised money, and refused to take it), which the ships furnished them with in exchange for their provisions, both sides found their account in this traffic; and their captain or governor had neither power nor interest to restrain it, or to tax it. But, of late (for reasons which shall be hereafter mentioned) these honest vagabonds have been obliged to receive amongst them a new colony, and to submit to new laws and new forms of government. Instead of their former ragged, bare-legged captain, (whom, however, they took care to keep innocent), they have now the honour to be governed by Don Jose Sylva de Paz, a brigadier of the armies of Portugal. This gentleman has with him a garrison of soldiers, and has, consequently, a more extensive, and a better supported power than any of his predecessors; and as he wears better clothes, and lives more splendidly, and has, besides, a much better knowledge of the importance of money than they could ever pretend to; so he puts in practice certain methods of procuring it, with which they were utterly unacquainted. But it may be much doubted, if the inhabitants consider these methods as tending to promote either their interest, or that of their sovereign, the king of Portugal. This is certain, that his behaviour cannot but be extremely embarrassing to such British ships as touch there in their way to the South Seas. For one of his practices was, placing centinels at all the avenues, to prevent the people from selling us any refreshments, except at such exorbitant rates as we could not afford to give. His pretence for this extraordinary stretch of power, was, that he was obliged to preserve their provisions for upwards of an hundred families, which they daily expected to reinforce their colony. Hence he appears to be no novice in his profession, by his readiness at inventing a plausible pretence for his interested management. However, this, though sufficiently provoking, was

far from being the most exceptionable part of his conduct. For, by the neighbourhood of the river Plate, a considerable smuggling traffic is carried on between the Portuguese and the Spaniards, especially in the exchanging gold for silver, by which both princes are defrauded of their fifths; and in this prohibited commerce Don José was so deeply engaged, that, in order to ingratiate himself with his Spanish correspondents, (for no other reason can be given for his procedure), he treacherously dispatched an express to Buenos Ayres, in the river of Plate where Pizarro then lay, with an account of our arrival, and of the strength of our Squadron, particularly mentioning the number of ships, guns, and men, and every circumstance which he could suppose our enemies desirous of being acquainted with; and the same perfidy every British cruiser may expect who touches at St. Catharine's, while it is under the government of Don José Sylva de Paz.

Thus much, with what we shall be necessitated to relate in the course of our own proceedings, may suffice as to the present state of St. Catharine's, and the character of its governor. But as the reader may be desirous of knowing to what causes the late new modelling of this settlement is owing; to satisfy him in this particular, it will be necessary to give a short account of the adjacent continent of Brazil, and of the wonderful discoveries which have been made there within these last forty years, which, from a country of but mean estimation, has rendered it now perhaps the most considerable colony on the face of the globe.

This country was first discovered by Americus Vesputio a Florentine, who had the good fortune to be honoured with giving his name to the immense continent, some time before found out by Columbus. Vesputio being in the service of the Portuguese, it was settled and planted by that nation, and, with the other dominions of Portugal, devolved to the crown of Spain, when that kingdom became subject to it. During the long war between Spain and the States of Holland, the Dutch possessed themselves of the northernmost part of Brazil, and were masters of it for some years; but when the Portuguese revolted from the Spanish government, this country took part in the re-

volt, and soon re-possessed themselves of the places the Dutch had taken: since which time it has continued, without interruption, under the crown of Portugal, being, till the beginning of the present century, only productive of sugar and tobacco, and a few other commodities of very little account.

But this country, which, for many years, was only considered for the produce of its plantations, has been lately discovered to abound with two minerals which mankind hold in the greatest esteem, and which they exert their utmost art and industry in acquiring, I mean gold and diamonds: gold was first found in the mountains which lay adjacent to the city of Rio Janeiro. The occasion of its discovery is variously related; but the most common account is, that the Indians, lying on the back of the Portuguese settlements, were observed, by the soldiers employed in an expedition against them, to make use of this metal for their fish hooks; and their manner of procuring it being inquired into, it appeared that great quantities of it were annually washed from the hills, and left amongst the sand and gravel, which remained in the vallies after the running of, or evaporation of, the water. It is now little more than forty years since any quantities of gold worth notice have been imported to Europe from Brazil; but, since that time, the annual imports from thence have been continually augmented, by the discovery of places in other provinces, where it is to be met with as plentifully as at first about Rio Janeiro. And it is now said, that there is a small slender vein of it spread through all the country, at about twenty-four feet from the surface, but that this vein is too thin and poor to answer the expence of digging: however, where the rivers or rains have had any course for a considerable time, there is gold always to be collected, the water having separated the metal from the earth, and deposited it in the sands, thereby saving the expences of digging; so that it is esteemed an infallible gain to be able to divert a stream from its channel, and to ransack its bed. From this account of gathering this metal, it should follow, that there are properly no gold mines in Brazil; and this the governor of Rio Grande (who being at St. Catharine's, frequently visited Mr. Anson) did most confidently affirm, assuring us, that the gold was all collected

either from rivers, or from the beds of torrents after floods. It is indeed asserted, that in the mountains, large rocks are found abounding with this metal; and I myself have seen the fragment of one of these rocks with a considerable lump of gold entangled in it; but even in this case, the workmen break off the rocks, and do not properly mine into them; and the great expence in subsisting among these mountains, and afterwards in separating the metal from the stone, makes this method of procuring gold to be but rarely put in practice.

The examining the bottoms of rivers, and the gullies of torrents, and the washing the gold found therein from the sand and dirt, with which it is always mixed, are works performed by slaves, who are principally negroes, kept in great numbers by the Portuguese for these purposes. The regulation of the duty of these slaves is singular; for they are each of them obliged to furnish their master with the eighth part of an ounce of gold *per diem*; and if they are either so fortunate or industrious as to collect a greater quantity, the surplus is considered as their own property, and they have the liberty of disposing of it as they think fit. So that it is said some negroes, who have accidentally fallen upon rich washing-places, have themselves purchased slaves, and have lived afterwards in great splendour, their original master having no other demand on them than the daily supply of the fore mentioned eighth; which, as the Portuguese ounce is somewhat lighter than our Troy ounce, may amount to about nine shillings sterling.

The quantity of gold thus collected in the Brazils, and returned annually to Lisbon, may be, in some degree, estimated from the amount of the king's fifth. This hath of late been estimated, one year with another, to be one hundred and fifty arroves of 32 lb. Portuguese weight each, which, at £. 4. the Troy ounce, makes very near £. 300,000 sterling; and consequently the capital, of which this is the fifth, is about a million and a half sterling. It is obvious, that the annual return of gold to Lisbon cannot be less than this, tho' it be difficult to determine how much it exceeds it; perhaps we may not be very much mistaken in our conjecture, if we suppose the gold exchanged

for silver with the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres, and what is brought privily to Europe, and escapes the duty, amounts to near half a million more, which will make the whole annual produce of the Brazilian gold, near two millions sterling; a prodigious sum to be found in a country, which, a few years since, was not known to furnish a single grain.

I have already mentioned, that, besides gold, this country does likewise produce diamonds. The discovery of these valuable stones is much more recent than that of gold, it being as yet scarce twenty years since the first were brought to Europe. They are found in the same manner as the gold, in the gullies of torrents and beds of rivers, but only in particular places, and not so universally spread through the country. They were often found in washing the gold, before they were known to be diamonds, and were consequently thrown away with the sand and gravel separated from it. And it is very well remembered that numbers of very large stones, which would have made the fortunes of the possessors, have passed unregarded through the hands of those who now with impatience support the mortifying reflection. However, about twenty years since, a person acquainted with the appearance of rough diamonds conceived that these pebbles, as they were then esteemed, were of the same kind. But it is said that there was a considerable interval between the first starting of this opinion, and the confirmation of it by proper trials and examination, it proving difficult to persuade the inhabitants, that what they had been long accustomed to despise could be of the importance represented by this discovery. And I have been informed, that in this interval, a governor of one of their places procured a good number of these stones, which he pretended to make use of at cards, to mark with instead of counters. But it was at last confirmed by skilful jewellers in Europe, consulted on this occasion, that the stones thus found in Brazil, were truly diamonds, many of which were not inferior either in lustre, or any other quality, to those of the East-Indies. On this determination, the Portuguese, in the neighbourhood of these places where they had been first observed, set themselves to search for them with great assiduity. And they were not without great hopes of discovering considerable masses of them, as they found large rocks of crystal in ma-

ny of the mountains from whence the streams came which washed down the diamonds.

But it was soon represented to the king of Portugal, that if such plenty of diamonds should be met with as their sanguine conjectures seemed to indicate, this would so debase their value, and diminish their estimation, that, besides ruining all the Europeans, who had any quantity of Indian diamonds in their possession, it would render the discovery itself of no importance, and would prevent his Majesty from receiving any advantages from it. And on these considerations, his Majesty has thought proper to restrain the general search of diamonds, and has erected a diamond company for that purpose, with an exclusive charter. This company, in consideration of a sum paid to the king, is vested with the property of all diamonds found in Brazil; but to hinder their collecting too large quantities, and thereby reducing their value, they are prohibited from employing above eight hundred slaves in searching after them. And to prevent any of his other subjects from acting the same part, and likewise to secure the company from being defrauded by the interfering of interlopers in their trade and property, he has depopulated a large town, and a considerable district round it, and has obliged the inhabitants, who are said to amount to six thousand, to remove to another part of the country; for this town being in the neighbourhood of the diamonds, it was thought impossible to prevent such a number of people who were on the spot from frequently smuggling.

In consequence of these important discoveries in Brazil, new laws, new governments, and new regulations have been established in many parts of the country. For not long since, a considerable tract possessed by a set of inhabitants, who, from their principal settlement were called Paulists, was almost independent of the crown of Portugal, to which it scarcely acknowledged more than a nominal allegiance. These Paulists are said to be descendants of those Portuguese who retired from the northern part of Brazil, when it was invaded and possessed by the Dutch. As, from the confusion of the times, they were long neglected by their superiors, and were obliged to provide for their own security and defence, the

necessity of their affairs produced a kind of government amongst them, which they found sufficient for the confined manner of life to which they were inured. And being thus habituated to their own regulations, they at length grew fond of their independency; so that rejecting and despising the mandates of the court of Lisbon, they were often engaged in a state of downright rebellion; and the mountains surrounding their country, and the difficulty of clearing the few passages that open into it, generally put it in their power to make their own terms before they submitted. But as gold was found to abound in this country of the Paulists, the present King of Portugal (during whose reign almost the whole discoveries I have mentioned, were begun and completed) thought it incumbent on him to reduce this province, which now became of great consequence, to the same dependency and obedience with the rest of the country, which I am told he has at last, though with great difficulty, happily effected. And the same motives which induced his Majesty to undertake the reduction of the Paulists, has also occasioned the changes I have mentioned to have taken place at the island of St. Catharine's. For the governor of Rio Grande, of whom I have already spoken, assured us, that in the neighbourhood of this island, there were considerable rivers, which were found to be extremely rich, and that this was the reason that a garrison, a military governor, and a new colony, were settled there. And as the harbour at this island is by much the securest, and the most capacious of any on that coast, it is not improbable, if the riches of the neighbourhood answer their expectation, but it may become in time the principal settlement in Brazil, and the most considerable port in all South America.

Thus much I have thought necessary to insert in relation to the present state of Brazil, and of the island of St. Catharine's. For as this last place has been generally recommended as the most eligible port for our cruisers to refresh at, which are bound to the South Seas, I thought it my duty to instruct my countrymen in the hitherto unsuspected inconveniences which attend that place. And as the Brazilian gold and diamonds are subjects about which, from their novelty, very few particulars have

been hitherto published, I conceived this account I had collected of them, would appear to the reader to be neither a trifling, nor a useless digression. These subjects being thus dispatched, I shall now return to the series of our own proceedings.

When we first arrived at St. Catharine's, we were employed in refreshing our sick on shore, in wooding and watering the squadron, cleansing our ships, and examining and securing our masts and rigging, as I have already observed in the foregoing chapter. At the same time Mr. Anson gave directions that the ships companies should be supplied with fresh meat, and that they should be victualled with whole allowance of all the kinds of provisions. In consequence of these orders, we had fresh beef sent on board us continually for our daily sustenance, and what was wanting to make up our allowance we received from our victualler, the Anna pink, in order to preserve the provisions on board our squadron entire for our future service. The season of the year growing each day less favourable for our passage round Cape Horn, Mr. Anson was very desirous of leaving this place as soon as possible; and we were at first in hopes, that our whole business would be finished, and we should be in readiness to sail in about a fortnight from our arrival; but on examining the Tryal's masts, we, to our no small vexation, found inevitable employment for twice that time. For, on a survey, it was found that the main mast was sprung at the upper wounding, though it was thought capable of being secured by a couple of fishes; but the fore-mast was reported to be unfit for service, and thereupon the carpenters were sent into the woods to endeavour to find a tree proper for a foremast; but, after a search of four days, they returned without being able to meet with one fit for the purpose. This obliged them to come to a second consultation about the old fore mast, when it was agreed to endeavour to secure it by casing it with three fishes; and in this work the carpenters were employed till within a day or two of our sailing. In the mean time, the Commodore, thinking it necessary to have a clean vessel on our arrival in the South Seas, ordered the Tryal to be hove down, as this would not occasion any loss of time, but might be completed while the carpenters were refitting her masts, which was done on shore.

On the 27th of December, we discovered a sail in the offing; and not knowing but she might be a Spaniard, the eighteen oared boat was manned and armed, and sent under the command of our second lieutenant, to examine her before she arrived within the protection of the forts. She proved to be a Portuguese brigantine from Rio Grande: and though our officer, as it appeared on inquiry, had behaved with the utmost civility to the master, and had refused to accept a calf, which the master would have forced on him as a present; yet the governor took great offence at our sending our boat, and talked of it in a high strain, as a violation of the peace subsisting between the two crowns of Great Britain and Portugal. We at first imputed this ridiculous blustering to no deeper a cause than Don Jose's insolence; but as we found he proceeded so far as to charge our officer with behaving rudely, and opening letters, and particularly with an attempt to take out of the vessel by violence the very calf which we knew he had refused to receive as a present, (a circumstance which we were satisfied the governor was well acquainted with), we had hence reason to suspect that he purposely sought this quarrel, and had more important motives for engaging in it, than the mere captious bias of his temper. What these motives were, it was not easy for us to determine at that time; but as we afterwards found, by letters which fell into our hands in the South Seas, that he had dispatched an express to Buenos Ayres, where Pizarro then lay, with an account of our squadron's arrival at St. Catharine's, together with the most ample and circumstantial intelligence of our force and condition, we thence conjectured that Don Jose had raised this groundless clamour, only to prevent our visiting the brigantine, when she should put to sea again, lest we might there find proofs of his perfidious behaviour, and perhaps, at the same time, discover the secret of his smuggling correspondence with his neighbouring governors, and the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres. But to proceed;

It was near a month before the *Tryal* was refitted; for not only her lower masts were defective, as hath been already mentioned, but her main top mast and foreyard were likewise decayed and rotten. While this work was carrying on, the other ships of the squadron fixed new

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standing rigging, and set up a sufficient number of preventer throuds to each mast, to secure them in the most effectual manner. And in order to render the ships stiffer, and to enable them to carry more sail abroad, and to prevent their straining their upper works in hard gales of wind, each captain had orders given him to strike down some of their great guns into the hold. These precautions being complied with, and each ship having taken in as much wood and water as there was room for, the Tryal was at last completed, and the whole squadron was ready for sea: on which the tents on shore were struck, and all the sick were received on board. And here we had a melancholy proof how much the healthiness of this place had been over rated by former writers; for we found, that though the Centurion alone had buried no less than twenty eight men since our arrival, yet the number of her sick was, in the same interval, increased from eighty to ninety six. When our crews were embarked, and every thing was prepared for our departure, the Commodore made a signal for all captains, and delivered them their orders, containing the successive places of rendezvous from hence to the coast of China; and then, on the next day, being the 18th of January, the signal was made for weighing, and the squadron put to sea, leaving without regret this island of St. Catharine's, where we had been so extremely disappointed in our refreshments, in our accommodations, and in the humane and friendly offices which we had been taught to expect in a place which hath been so much celebrated for its hospitality, freedom and conveniency.

C H A P. VI.

*The run from ST. CATHARINE'S to Port St. JULIAN, with
some Account of that Port, and of the Country to the
southward of the River of PLATE.*

IN leaving St. Catharine's, we left the last amicable port we proposed to touch at, and were now proceeding to an hostile, or at best a desert and inhospitable coast. And as we were to expect a more boisterous climate to the southward than any we had yet experienced, not only

our danger of separation would by this means be much greater than it had been hitherto, but other accidents of a more mischievous nature were likewise to be apprehended, and as much as possible to be provided against. Mr. Anson, therefore, in appointing the various stations at which the ships of the squadron were to rendezvous, had considered that it was possible his own ship might be disabled from getting round Cape Horn, or might be lost, and had given proper direction, that even in that case the expedition should not be abandoned. For the orders delivered to the captains the day before we sailed from St. Catharine's, were, that in case of separation, which they were with the utmost care to endeavour to avoid, the first place of rendezvous should be the bay of port St. Julian, describing the place from Sir John Narborough's account of it: there they were to supply themselves with as much salt as they could take in, both for their own use, and for the use of the squadron; and if after a stay of ten days they were not joined by the Commodore, they were then to proceed through Straits le Mair round Cape Horn into the South Seas, where the next place of rendezvous was to be the island of *Nuestra Senora del Socora*, in the latitude of 45° south, and longitude from the Lizard $71^{\circ} : 12'$ west. They were to bring this island to bear E. N. E. and to cruise from five to twelve leagues distance from it, as long as the store of wood and water would permit, both which they were to expend with the utmost frugality: and when they were under an absolute necessity of a fresh supply, they were to stand in and endeavour to find out an anchoring place; and, in case they could not, and the weather made it dangerous to supply their ships by standing off and on, they were then to make the best of their way to the island of *Juan Fernandes*, in the latitude of $33^{\circ} : 37'$ south. At this island, as soon as they had recruited their wood and water, they were to continue cruising off the anchoring place for fifty-six days; in which time, if they were not joined by the Commodore, they might conclude that some accident had befallen him, and they were forthwith to put themselves under the command of the senior officer, who was to use his utmost endeavours to annoy the enemy both by sea and land. With these views their new Commodore was to continue in those seas as long as his provisions lasted, or as long as they were

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recruited by what he should take from the enemy, reserving only a sufficient quantity to carry him and the ships under his command to Macao, at the entrance of the river Tigris, near Canton on the coast of China, where, having supplied himself with a new stock of provisions, he was thence, without delay, to make the best of his way to England. And as it was found impossible as yet to unload our victualler the *Anna pink*, the Commodore gave the master of her the same rendezvous, and the same orders to put himself under the command of the remaining senior officer.

Under these orders, the Squadron sailed from St. Catharine's on Sunday the 18th of January, as hath been already mentioned in the preceding chapter. The next day we had very squally weather, attended with rain, lightning and thunder; but it soon became fair again with light breezes, and continued thus till Wednesday evening, when it blew fresh again; and increasing all night, by eight the next morning, it became a most violent storm, and we had with it so thick a fog, that it was impossible to see at the distance of two ships length, so that the whole Squadron disappeared. On this a signal was made by firing guns, to bring to with the larboard tacks, the wind being then due east. We ourselves immediately handed the top-sails, bunted the main-sail, and lay to under a reefed mizen till noon, when the fog dispersed, and we soon discovered all the ships of the Squadron except the *Pearl*, who did not join us till near a month afterwards. Indeed the *Tryal* sloop was a great way to leeward, having lost her main-mast in the squall, and having been obliged, for fear of bilging, to cut away the raft. We therefore bore down with the Squadron to her relief, and the *Gloucester* was ordered to take her in tow; for the weather did not entirely abate till the day after, and even then, a great swell continued from the eastward, in consequence of the preceding storm.

After this accident, we stood to the southward with little interruption; and here we experienced the same setting of the current which we had observed before our arrival at St. Catharine's; that is, we generally found ourselves to the southward of our reckoning, by about twenty miles each day. This deviation, with a little inequa-

lity, lasted till we had passed the latitude of the river Plate; and even then we discovered that the same current, however difficult to be accounted for, did yet undoubtedly take place; for we were not satisfied in deducing it from the error in our reckoning, but we actually tried it more than once, when a calm made it practicable.

As soon as we had passed the latitude of the river of Plate, we had soundings which continued all along the coast of Patagonia. These soundings, when well ascertained, being of great use in determining the position of the ship, and we having tried them more frequently, and in greater depths, and with more attention, than, I believe, hath been done before us, I shall recite our observations as succinctly as I can, referring to the chart hereafter described in the ninth chapter of this book, for a general view of the whole. In the latitude of $36^{\circ} : 52'$, we had sixty fathom of water, with a bottom of fine black and grey sand: from thence, to $39^{\circ} : 55'$, we varied our depths from fifty to eighty fathom, though we had constantly the same bottom as before; between the last mentioned latitude, and $43^{\circ} : 16'$, we had only fine grey sand, with the same variation of depths, except that we once or twice lessened our water to forty fathom. After this, we continued in forty fathom for about half a degree, having a bottom of coarse sand and broken shells, at which time we were in sight of land, and not above seven leagues from it. As we edged from the land, we met with variety of soundings; first black sand, then muddy, and soon after, rough ground with stones: but when we had increased our water to forty eight fathom, we had a muddy bottom to the latitude of $46^{\circ} : 10'$. Hence, drawing towards the shore, we had first thirty six fathom and still kept shoaling our water, till at length we came into twelve fathom, having constantly small stones and pebbles at the bottom. Part of this time we had a view of Cape Blanco, which lies in about the latitude of $47^{\circ} : 10'$, and longitude west from London 69° . This is the most remarkable land upon the coast: two very exact views of it are exhibited in the third plate, where (b) represents the cape itself: these draughts will fully enable future voyagers to distinguish it. Steering from hence S. by E. nearly, we in a run of about thirty leagues deepened our

water to fifty fathom, without once altering the bottom; and then drawing towards the shore with a S. W. course, varying rather to the westward, we had constantly a sandy bottom, till our coming into thirty fathom, where we had again a sight of land, distant from us about eight leagues, lying in the latitude of $48^{\circ} : 31$. We made this land on the 17th of February; and at five that afternoon, we came to an anchor, having the same soundings as before, in the latitude of $48^{\circ} : 58'$; the southermost land then in view bearing S. S. W. and the northermost $\frac{1}{4}$ E. a small Island N. W. and the westernmost hummock W. S. W. In this station we found the tide to set S. by W.; and weighing again at five the next morning, we an hour afterwards discovered a sail, upon which the *Severn* and *Gloucester* were both directed to give chase: but we soon perceived it to be the *Pearl*, which separated from us a few days after we left *St. Catharine's*, and on this we made a signal for the *Severn* to rejoin the squadron, leaving the *Gloucester* alone in the pursuit. And now we were surprized to see, that on the *Gloucester's* approach, the people on board the *Pearl* increased their sail, and stood from her: however the *Gloucester* came up with them, but found them with their hammocks in their nettings, and every thing ready for an engagement. At two in the afternoon the *Pearl* joined us, and running up under our stern, Lieutenant Salt hailed the Commodore, and acquainted him that Captain Kidd died on the 31st of January. He likewise informed us, that he had seen five large ships the 10th instant, which he, for some time, imagined to be our squadron: so that he suffered the commanding ship, which wore a red broad pendant, exactly resembling that of the Commodore, at the main top mast head, to come within gun shot of him before he discovered his mistake: but then finding it not to be the *Centurion*, he haled close upon the wind, and crowded from them with all his sail, and standing cross a rippling, where they hesitated to follow him, he happily escaped. He made them to be five Spanish men of war, one of them exceedingly like the *Gloucester*, which was the occasion of his apprehensions when the *Gloucester* chased him. By their appearance, he thought they consisted of two ships of seventy guns, two of fifty, and one of forty guns. It seems the whole squadron continued in chase of him all

that day; but at night finding they could not get near him, they gave over the chase, and directed their course to the southward.

Had it not been for the necessity we were under of refitting the *Tryal*, this piece of intelligence would have prevented our making any stay at St. Julian; but as it was impossible for that sloop to proceed round the cape in her present condition, some stay there was inevitable; and therefore, the same evening, we came to an anchor again in twenty-five fathoms water, the bottom a mixture of mud and sand, and the high hummock bearing S. W. by W. And, weighing at nine in the morning, we sent the two cutters belonging to the *Centurion* and *Severn* on shore, to discover the harbour of St. Julian, while the ships kept standing along the coast, about the distance of a league from the land. At six o'clock we anchored in the bay of St. Julian, in nineteen fathom, the bottom muddy ground with sand, the northermost land in sight bearing N. and by E. the southermost S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. and the high hummock, to which Sir John Narborough formerly gave the name of Wood's Mount, W. S. W. Soon after the cutter returned on board, having discovered the harbour, which did not appear to us in our situation, the northermost point shutting in upon the southermost, and in appearance closing the entrance. To facilitate the knowledge of this coast to future navigators, there are two views in the fourth and fifth plates; the first of the land of Patagonia, to the northward of port St. Julian, where (*w*) is Wood's Mount, and the bay of St. Julian lies round the point (*c*). The second view is of the bay itself; and here again (*w*) is Wood's Mount, (*a*) is cape St. Julian, and (*b*) the port, or river's mouth.

Being come to an anchor in this bay of St. Julian, principally with a view of refitting the *Tryal*, the carpenter's were immediately employed in that business, and continued so during our whole stay at the place. The *Tryal's* main-mast having been carried away about twelve feet below the cap, they contrived to make the remaining part of the mast serve again; and the *Wager* was ordered to supply her with a spare main top-mast, which the

carpenters converted into a new fore mast. And I cannot help observing, that this accident to the Tryal's mast, which gave us so much uneasiness at that time, on account of the delay it occasioned, was, in all probability, the means of preserving the sloop, and all her crew.

For before this, her masts, how well soever proportioned to a better climate, were much too lofty for these high southern latitudes: so that, had they weathered the preceding storm, it would have been impossible for them to have stood against those seas and tempests we afterwards encountered in passing round Cape Horn; and the loss of masts in that boisterous climate, would scarcely have been attended with less than the loss of the vessel, and of every man on board her; since it would have been impracticable for the other ships to have given them any relief, during the continuance of these impetuous storms.

Whilst we staid at this place, the Commodore appointed the honourable Captain Murray to succeed to the Pearl, and Captain Cheap to the Wager; and he promoted Mr. Charles Saunders, his first lieutenant, to the command of the Tryal sloop. But captain Saunders lying dangerously ill of a fever on board of the Centurion, and it being the opinion of the Surgeons, that the removing him on board his own ship, in his present condition, might tend to the hazard of his life, Mr. Anson gave an order to Mr. Saumarez, first lieutenant of the Centurion, to act as master, and commander of the Tryal during the illness of Captain Saunders.

Here the Commodore too, in order to ease the expedition of all unnecessary expence, held a further consultation with his captains, about unloading and discharging the Anna Pink; but they represented to him, that they were so far from being in a condition of taking any part of her loading on board, that they had still great quantities of provisions in the way of their guns between decks, and that their ships were withal so very deep, that they were not fit for action without being cleared. This put the Commodore under a necessity of retaining the pink in the service; and as it was apprehended we should certainly meet with the Spanish Squadron in passing the Cape,

Mr. Anson thought it adviseable, to give orders to the captains, to put all their provisions, which were in the way of their guns, on board the *Anna pink*, and to remount such of their guns as had formerly, for the ease of their ships, been ordered into the hold.

This bay of *St. Julian*, where we are now at anchor, being a convenient rendezvous, in case of separation, for all cruisers bound to the southward, and the whole coast of *Patagonia*, from the river of *Plate* to the *Straits of Magellan*, lying nearly parallel to their usual route, a short account of the singularity of this country, with a particular description of port *St. Julian*, may perhaps be neither unacceptable to the curious, nor unworthy the attention of future navigators, as some of them, by unforeseen accidents, may be obliged to run in with the land, and to make some stay on this coast; in which case the knowledge of the country, its produce and inhabitants, cannot but be of the utmost consequence to them.

To begin then with the tract of country usually styled *Patagonia*. This is the name often given to the southernmost part of *South America*, which is unpossessed by the Spaniards, extending from their settlements to the *Straits of Magellan*. This country, on the east side, is extremely remarkable for a peculiarity not to be paralleled in any other known part of the globe: for though the whole territory, to the northward of the river of *Plate*, is full of wood, and stored with immense quantities of large timber-trees; yet to the southward of the river, no trees of any kind are to be met with, except a few peach-trees, first planted and cultivated by the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of *Buenos Ayres*; so that, on the whole eastern coast of *Patagonia*, extending near four hundred leagues in length, and reaching as far back as any discoveries have yet been made, no other wood has been found than a few insignificant shrubs. Sir *John Narborough*, in particular, who was sent out by *King Charles II.* expressly to examine this country, and the *Straits of Magellan*, and who, in pursuance of his orders, wintered upon this coast, in port *St. Julian*, and port *Desire*, in the year 1670: Sir *John Narborough*, I say, tells us, that he never saw a stick of wood in the country, large enough to make the handle of an hatchet.

But though the country be so destitute of wood, it abounds with pasture. For the land appears in general to be made up of downs of a light, dry, gravelly soil; and produces great quantities of long coarse grass, which grows in tufts, interspersed with large barren spots of gravel between them. This grass, in many places, feeds immense herds of cattle: for the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres having soon after their first settling there, brought over a few black cattle from Europe, they have thriven prodigiously by the plenty of herbage which they every where met with: and are now increased to that degree, and they are extended so far into different parts of Patagonia, that they are not considered as private property, but many thousands, at a time, are slaughtered every year by the hunters, only for their hides and tallow. The manner of killing these cattle being a practice peculiar to that part of the world, merits a more circumstantial description. The hunters employed on this occasion, being all of them mounted on horseback (and both the Spaniards and Indians, in that part of the world, are usually most excellent horsemen), they arm themselves with a kind of spear, which at its end, instead of a blade fixed in the same line with the wood, in the usual manner, has its blade fixed across: with this instrument they ride at a beast, and surround him, when the hunter that comes behind him, hamstringing him: and as, after this operation, the beast soon tumbles, without being able to raise himself again, they leave him on the ground, and pursue others, whom they serve in the same manner. Sometimes there is a second party who attend the hunters, to skin the cattle as they fall. But it is said, that, at other times, the hunters chuse to let them languish in torment till the next day, from an opinion that the anguish which the animal in the mean time endures, may burst the lymphatics, and thereby facilitate the separation of the skin from the carcase: and though their priests have loudly condemned this most barbarous practice, and have gone so far, if my memory does not fail me, as to excommunicate those who follow it, yet all their efforts to put an entire stop to it, have hitherto proved ineffectual.

Besides the numbers of cattle which are every year

slaughtered for their hides and tallow, in the manner already described, it is often necessary for the uses of agriculture, and for other purposes, to take them alive without wounding them: this is performed with a most wonderful, and almost incredible dexterity, and principally by the use of a machine which the English, who have resided at Buenos Ayres, generally denominate a *lash*. It is made of a thong of several fathoms in length, and very strong, with a running noose at one end of it: this the hunters (who, in this case, are also mounted on horseback) take in their right hands, it being first properly coiled up, and having its end opposite to the noose fastened to the saddle; and thus prepared, they ride at a herd of cattle. When they arrive within a certain distance of a beast, they throw their thong at him with such exactness, that they never fail of fixing the noose about his horns. The beast, when he finds himself entangled, generally runs; but the horse being swifter, attends him, and prevents the thong from being too much strained, till a second hunter, who follows the game, throws another noose about one of its hind legs; and this being done, both horses (for they are trained to this practice) instantly turn different ways, in order to strain the two thongs in contrary directions, on which the beast, by their opposite pulls, is presently overthrown, and then the horses stop, keeping the thong still upon the stretch: being thus on the ground, and incapable of resistance (for he is extended between the two horses), the hunters alight, and secure him in such a manner, that they afterwards easily convey him to whatever place they please. They in like manner noose horses, and, as it is said, even tigers; and however strange this last circumstance may appear, there are not wanting persons of credit who assert it. Indeed it must be owned, that the address both of the Spaniards and Indians in that part of the world, in the use of this *lash* or noose, and the certainty with which they throw it, and fix it on any intended part of the beast, at a considerable distance, are matters only to be believed from the repeated and concurrent testimony of all who have frequented that country, and might reasonably be questioned, did it rely on a single report, or had it been ever contradicted or denied by any one who had resided at Buenos Ayres.

The cattle which are killed in the manner I have already observed, are slaughtered only for their hides and tallow, to which sometimes are added their tongues; but the rest of their flesh is left to putrify, or to be devoured by the birds and wild beasts. The greatest part of this carrion falls to the share of the wild dogs, of which there are immense numbers to be found in that country.

These are supposed to have been originally produced by Spanish dogs from Buenos Ayres, who, allured by the great quantity of carrion, and the facility they had by that means of subsisting, left their masters, and ran wild amongst the cattle; for they are plainly of the breed of the European dogs, an animal not originally found in America. But though those dogs are said to be some thousands in a company, they hitherto neither diminish nor prevent the increase of the cattle, not daring to attack the herds, by reason of the numbers which constantly feed together; but contenting themselves with the carrion left them by the hunters, and perhaps now and then with a few stragglers, who, by accidents, are separated from the main body they belong to.

Besides the wild cattle which have spread themselves in such vast herds from Buenos Ayres towards the southward, the same country is in like manner furnished with horses. These too were first brought from Spain, and are also prodigiously increased, and run wild to a much greater distance than the black cattle: and though many of them are excellent, yet their number makes them of very little value, the best of them being often sold in the neighbouring settlements, where money is plenty, and commodities very dear, for not more than a dollar a piece. It is not as yet certain how far to the southward these herds of wild cattle and horses have extended themselves; but there is some reason to conjecture, that stragglers of both kinds are to be met with very near the Straits of Magellan; and they will in time, doubtless, fill all the southern part of this continent with their breed, which cannot fail of proving of considerable advantage to such ships as may touch upon the coast; for the horses themselves are said to be very good eating, and as such are preferred by some of the Indians even before black cattle. But whatever plenty of

fresh provisions may be hereafter found here, there is one material refreshment which this eastern side of Patagonia seems to be very defective in, and that is fresh water; for the land being generally of a nitrous and saline nature, the ponds and streams are frequently brackish. However, as good water has been found there, though in small quantities, it is not improbable, but on a further search, this inconvenience may be removed.

To the account already given, I must add, that there are in all parts of this country a good number of vicunnos, or Peruvian sheep: but these, by reason of their shyness and swiftness, are killed with difficulty. On the eastern coast too, there are found immense quantities of seals, and a vast variety of sea fowl, amongst which the most remarkable are the penguins: they are in size and shape like a goose, but, instead of wings, they have short flumps like fins, which are of no use to them except in the water; their bills are narrow, like that of an albitross, and they stand and walk in an erect posture. From this, and their white bellies, Sir John Narborough has whimsically likened them to little children standing up in white aprons.

The inhabitants of this eastern coast (to which I have all along hitherto confined my relation) appear to be but few, and have rarely been seen more than two or three at a time, by any ships that have touched here. We, during our stay at the port of St. Julian, saw none. However, towards Buenos Ayres they are sufficiently numerous, and oftentimes very troublesome to the Spaniards; but there the greater breadth and variety of the country, and a milder climate, yield them a better protection; for, in that place, the continent is between three and four hundred leagues in breadth, whereas at Port St. Julian, it is little more than a hundred; so that I conceive, the same Indians who frequent the western coast of Patagonia, and the Straits of Magellan, often ramble to this side. As the Indians near Buenos Ayres exceed these southern Indians in number, so they greatly surpass them in activity and spirit, and seem in their manners to be nearer allied to those gallant Chilian Indians, who have long set the whole Spanish power at defiance, have often ravished their country, and remain to this hour indepen-

dent. For the Indians about Buenos Ayres have learned to be excellent horsemen, and are extremely expert in the management of all cutting weapons, though ignorant of the use of fire-arms, which the Spaniards are very solicitous to keep out of their hands. And of the vigour and resolution of these Indians, the behaviour of Orellana and his followers, whom we have formerly mentioned, is a memorable instance. Indeed, were we disposed to aim at the utter subversion of the Spanish power in America, no means seems more probable to effect it, than due encouragement and assistance given to these Indians, and those of Chili.

Thus much may suffice in relation to the eastern coast of Patagonia: the western coast is of less extent; and, by reason of the Andes which skirt it, and stretch quite down to the water, is a very rocky and dangerous shore. However, I shall hereafter be necessitated to make further mention of it, and therefore shall not enlarge thereon at this time, but shall conclude this account with a short description of the harbour of St. Julian, the general form of which may be conceived from the sketch in the 6th plate. But it must be remembered, that the bar, which is there marked at the entrance, is often shifting, and has many holes in it. The tide flows here N. and S. and at full and change rises four fathom.

We on our first arrival here, sent an officer on shore in the Salt pond, marked (D) in the plan, in order to procure a quantity of salt for the use of the squadron, Sir John Narborough having observed, when he was here, that the salt produced in that place was very white and good, and that in February there was enough of it to fill a thousand ships; but our officer returned with a sample which was very bad, and he told us, that even of this there was but little to be got; I suppose the weather had been more rainy than ordinary, and had destroyed it. To give the reader a better idea of this port, and of the adjacent country, to which the whole coast I have described bears a great resemblance, I have inserted two very accurate views, (which may be seen in the 7th and 8th plates): one of them representing the appearance of the country, when looking up the river: the other being

a view taken from the same spot; but the observer is now supposed to turn round, opposite to his former situation, and consequently this is a representation of the appearance of the country down the river, betwixt the station of the observer and the river's mouth.

C H A P. VII.

Departure from the Bay of St. JULIAN, and the Passage from thence to Straits LE MAIRE.

THE Tryal being nearly refitted, which was our principal occupation at this bay of St. Julian, and the sole occasion of our stay, the Commodore thought it necessary, as we were now directly bound for the South Seas, and the enemy's coasts, to fix the plan of his first operations: and therefore on the 24th of February, a signal was made for all captains, and a council of war was held on board the Centurion, at which were present the Honourable Edward Legg, Captain Matthew Mitchell, the Honourable George Murray, Captain David Cheap, together with Colonel Mordaunt Chrocherode, commander of the land forces. At this council Mr. Anson proposed, that their first attempt, after their arrival in the South Seas, should be the attack of the town and harbour of Baldivia, the principal frontier of the district of Chili; Mr. Anson informing them, at the same time, that it was an article contained in his Majesty's instructions to him, to endeavour to secure some port in the South Seas, where the ships of the squadron might be careened and refitted. To this proposition made by the Commodore, the council unanimously and readily agreed: and, in consequence of this resolution, new instructions were given to the captains of the squadron, by which, though they were still directed, in case of separation, to make the best of their way to the island of Neustra Senora del Socora, yet (notwithstanding the orders they had formerly given them at St. Catharine's), they were to cruise off that island only ten days; from whence, if not joined by the Commodore, they were to proceed and cruise off the harbour of Baldivia, making the land between the latitudes of 40° and $40^{\circ} : 30'$, and taking care

to keep to the southward of the port; and if in fourteen days they were not joined by the rest of the squadron, they were then to quit this station, and to direct their course to the island of Juan Fernandes, after which they were to regulate their further proceedings by their former orders. The same directions were also given to the master of the *Anna pink*, who was not to fail in answering the signals made by any ship of the squadron, and was to be very careful to destroy his papers and orders, if he should be so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the enemy. And as the separation of the squadron might prove of the utmost prejudice to his Majesty's service, each captain was ordered to give it in charge to the respective officers of the watch, not to keep their ship at a greater distance from the Centurion than two miles, as they would answer it at their peril; and if any captain should find his ship beyond the distance specified, he was to acquaint the Commodore with the name of the officer who had thus neglected his duty.

These necessary regulations being established, and the *Trial sloop* completed, the squadron weighed on Friday the 27th of February, at seven in the morning, and stood to the sea: the *Gloucester* indeed found a difficulty in purchasing her anchor, and was left a considerable way astern, so that in the night we fired several guns as a signal to her captain to make sail; but he did not come up to us till the next morning, when we found, that they had been obliged to cut their cable, and leave their best bower behind them. At ten in the morning, the day after our departure, *Wood's Mount*, the high land over *St. Julian*, bore from us N by W. distant ten leagues, and we had fifty two fathom of water. And now standing to the southward, we had great expectation of falling in with *Pizarro's* squadron; for during our stay at port *St. Julian*, there had generally been hard gales between the W. N. W. and S. W. so that we had reason to conclude the Spaniards had gained no ground upon us in that interval. Indeed it was the prospect of meeting with them that had occasioned our Commodore to be so very solicitous to prevent the separation of our ships: for, had we been solely intent upon getting round *Cape Horn* in the shortest time, the properest method for this purpose would have been, to have order-

ed each ship to have made the best of her way to the rendezvous, without waiting for the rest.

From our departure from St. Julian, to the 4th of March, we had little wind, with thick hazy weather, and some rain, and our soundings were generally from forty to fifty fathom, with a bottom of black and grey sand, sometimes intermixed with pebble stones. On the 4th of March, we were in sight of Cape Virgin Mary, and not more than six or seven leagues distant from it. This cape is the northern boundary of the entrance of the Straits of Magellan; it lies in the latitude of $52^{\circ} : 21'$ south, and longitude from London, $71^{\circ} 44'$ west, and seems to be a low flat land ending in a point. And for a direction to such ships as may, by particular reasons, be induced hereafter to pass through those straits into the South Seas, there is, in the ninth plate, a very accurate draught of its appearance, where (a) represents the cape itself. Off this cape our depth of water was from thirty-five to forty eight fathom. The afternoon of this day was very bright and clear, with small breezes of wind, inclinable to a calm, and most of the captains took the opportunity of this favourable weather to pay a visit to the Commodore; but while they were in company together, they were all greatly alarmed by a sudden flame which burst out on board the Gloucester, and which was succeeded by a cloud of smoke. However, they were soon relieved from their apprehensions, by receiving information, that the blast was occasioned by a spark of fire from the forge, lighting on some gun powder and other combustibles, which an officer on board was preparing for use, in case we should fall in with the Spanish fleet, and that it had been extinguished without any damage to the ship.

We here found what was constantly verified by all our observations in these high latitudes, that fair weather was always of an exceeding short duration, and that when it was remarkably fine, it was a certain presage of a succeeding storm; for the calm and sunshine of our afternoon ended in a most turbulent night, the wind freshening from the S. W. as the night came on, and increasing its violence continually till nine in the morning the next day, when it blew so hard that we were obliged to bring to with

the squadron, and to continue under a reefed mizen till eleven at night, having in that time, from forty-three to fifty seven fathom water, with black sand and gravel, and by an observation we had at noon, we concluded a current had set us twelve miles to the southward of our reckoning. Towards midnight, the wind abating, we made sail again, and steering south, we discovered in the morning, for the first time, the land called Terra del Fuego, stretching from the S. by W. to the S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. This indeed afforded us but a very uncomfortable prospect, it appearing of a stupendous height, covered every where with snow. And though the dreariness of this scene can be but imperfectly represented by any drawing, yet the tenth plate contains so exact a delineation of the form of the country, that it may greatly assist the reader in framing some idea of this uncouth and rugged coast. In this drawing (*a*) is the opening of Straits le Maire, (*b*) Cape St. Diego, (1) (2) (3) the three hills called the three brothers, and (4) Montegorda, an high land which lies up in the country, and appears over the three brothers. We steered along this shore all day, having soundings from forty to fifty fathom, with stones and gravel. And as we intended to pass through Straits Le Maire next day, we lay to at night, that we might not overshoot them, and took this opportunity to prepare ourselves for the tempestuous climate we were soon to be engaged in; with which view we employed ourselves good part of the night in bending an entire new suit of sails to the yards. At four the next morning, being the 7th of March, we made sail, and at eight saw the land; and soon after, we began to open the Straits, at which time Cape St. James bore from us E. S. E. Cape St. Vincent S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. the middlemost of the three brothers S. and by W. Montegorda S. and Cape St. Bartholomew, which is the southernmost point of Staten land, E. S. E. The appearance of the Straits in this situation, is represented in the eleventh plate, where (*a*) is part of Staten land, (*b*) Cape St. Bartholomew, (*c*) part of Terra del Fuego, (*d*) Port Maurice, and (*e*) supposed to be Valentine's bay, or the bay of Good Success. And here I must observe, that though Frezier has given us a very correct prospect of the part of Terra del Fuego which borders on the Straits, yet he has omitted that of Staten land which forms the opposite shore: hence we found it difficult

to determine exactly where the Straits lay, till they began to lie open to our view ; and for want of this, if we had not happened to have coasted a considerable way along the shore, we might have missed the Straits, and have got to the eastward of Staten-land before we knew it. This is an accident that has happened to many ships, particularly, as Frezier mentions, to the *Incarnation* and *Concord*, who, intending to pass through Straits Le Maire, were deceived by three hills on Staten-land, like the three brothers, and some creeks resembling those of Terra del Fuego, and thereby overshot the Straits. To prevent these accidents for the future, there is inserted the west prospect of Staten land, where (*a*) is Cape St. Diego, on Terra del Fuego, (*b*) Cape St. Bartholomew on Staten land. This drawing will hereafter render it impossible for any ships to be deceived in the manner above mentioned, or to find any difficulty in distinguishing the points of land by which the Straits are formed.

And on occasion of this prospect of Staten-land here inserted, I cannot but remark, that though Terra del Fuego had an aspect extremely barren and desolate, yet this island of Staten-land far surpasses it in the wildness and horror of its appearance, it seeming to be entirely composed of inaccessible rocks, without the least mixture of earth or mould between them. These rocks terminate in a vast number of ragged points which spire to a prodigious height, and are all of them covered with everlasting snow ; the points themselves are, on every side, surrounded with frightful precipices, and often over-hang in a most astonishing manner ; and the hills which bear them are generally separated from each other by narrow cliffs, which appear as if the country had been frequently rent by earthquakes : for these chasms are nearly perpendicular, and extend through the substance of the main rocks, almost to their very bottoms : so that nothing can be imagined more savage and gloomy than the whole aspect of this coast. But to proceed :

I have above mentioned, that on the 7th of March, in the morning, we opened Straits Le Maire, and soon after, or about 10 o'clock, the *Pearl* and the *Trial* being ordered to keep a-head of the squadron, we entered them with fair weather and a brisk gale, and were hurried through,

by the rapidity of the tide, in about two hours, though they are between seven and eight leagues in length. As these Straits are often esteemed to be the boundary between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and as we presumed we had nothing before us, from hence, but an open sea, till we arrived on these opulent coasts, where all our hopes and wishes centered, we could not help persuading ourselves, that the greatest difficulty of our voyage was now at an end, and that our most sanguine dreams were upon the point of being realized; and hence we indulged our imaginations in those romantic schemes which the fancied possession of the Chilian gold and Peruvian silver might be conceived to inspire. These joyous ideas were considerably heightened by the brightness of the sky, and serenity of the weather, which was indeed most remarkably pleasing; for though the winter was now advancing apace, yet the morning of this day, in its brilliancy and mildness, gave place to none we had seen since our departure from England. Thus animated by these flattering delusions, we passed those memorable Straits, ignorant of the dreadful calamities which were then impending, and just ready to break upon us; ignorant that the time drew near when the squadron would be separated never to unite again; and that this day of our passage, was the last cheerful day that the greatest part of us would ever live to enjoy.

C H A P. VIII.

From Straits LE MAIRE to Cape NOIR.

WE had scarcely reached the southern extremity of the Straits Le Maire, when our flattering hopes were instantly lost in the apprehensions of immediate destruction: for before the sternmost ships of the squadron were clear of the Straits, the serenity of the sky was suddenly obscured, and we observed all the presages of an impending storm; and presently the wind shifted to the southward, and blew in such violent squalls, that we were obliged to hand our top sails, and reef our main sail; whilst the tide too, which had hitherto favoured us, at once turned furiously against us, and drove us to the eastward with prodigious rapidity, so that we were in great anxiety for

the *Wager* and the *Anna* pink, the two sternmost vessels, fearing they would be dashed to pieces against the shore of Staten-land: nor were our apprehensions without foundation, for it was with the utmost difficulty they escaped. And now the whole Squadron, instead of pursuing their intended course to the S. W. were driven to the eastward by the united force of the storm and of the currents; so that next day, in the morning, we found ourselves near seven leagues to the eastward of Staten land, which then bore from us N. W. The violence of the current which had set us with so much precipitation to the eastward, together with the fierceness and constancy of the westerly winds, soon taught us to consider the doubling of Cape Horn as an enterprise that might prove too mighty for our efforts, though some amongst us had lately treated the difficulties which former voyagers were said to have met with in this undertaking as little better than chimerical, and had supposed them to arise rather from timidity and unskilfulness, than from the real embarrassments of the winds and seas: but we were now severely convinced that these censures were rash and ill grounded; for the distresses with which we struggled, during the three succeeding months, will not be easily paralleled in the relation of any former naval expedition. This will, I doubt not, be readily allowed by those who shall carefully peruse the ensuing narration.

From the storm which came on before we had well got clear of Straits Le Maire, we had a continual succession of such tempestuous weather as surprised the oldest and most experienced mariners on board, and obliged them to confess, that what they had hitherto called storms were inconsiderable gales, compared with the violence of these winds, which raised such short, and, at the same time, such mountainous waves, as greatly surpassed in danger all seas known in any other part of the globe; and it was not without great reason that this unusual appearance filled us with continual terror; for had any one of these waves broke fairly over us, it must, in all probability, have sent us to the bottom. Nor did we escape with terror only, for the ship rolling incessantly gunwale to, gave us such quick and violent motions, that the men were in perpetual danger of being dashed to pieces against the decks or sides of the ship.

And though we were extremely careful to secure ourselves from these shocks, by grasping some fixed body, yet many of our people were forced from their hold; some of whom were killed, and others greatly injured; in particular, one of our best seamen was canted over-board and drowned, another dislocated his neck, a third was thrown into the main hold and broke his thigh, and one of our boatswain's mates broke his collar bone twice; not to mention many other accidents of the same kind. These tempests so dreadful in themselves, though unattended by any other unfavourable circumstance, were yet rendered more mischievous to us by their inequality, and the deceitful intervals which they at sometimes afforded; for though we were oftentimes obliged to lie to for days together under a reefed mizen, and were frequently reduced to lie at the mercy of the waves under our bare poles, yet now and then we ventured to make sail with our courses double reefed; and the weather proving more tolerable, would, perhaps, encourage us to set our top sails; after which the wind, without any previous notice, would return upon us with redoubled force, and would in an instant tear our sails from the yards. And that no circumstance might be wanting which could aggrandize our distress, these blasts generally brought with them a great quantity of snow and sleet, which cased our rigging, and froze our sails, thereby rendering them and our cordage brittle, and apt to snap upon the slightest strain, adding great difficulty and labour to the working of the ship, benumbing the limbs of our people, and making them incapable of exerting themselves with their usual activity, and even disabling many of them by mortifying their toes and fingers. It were indeed endless to enumerate the various disasters of different kinds which befel us; and I shall only mention the most material, which will sufficiently evince the calamitous condition of the whole squadron during the course of this navigation.

It was on the 7th of March, as hath been already observed, that we passed Straits Le Maire, and were immediately afterwards driven to the eastward by a violent storm, and the force of the current, which set that way. For the four or five succeeding days we had hard gales of wind from the same quarter, with a most prodigious swell;

so that though we stood during all that time towards the S. W. yet we had no reason to imagine we had made any way to the westward. In this interval we had frequent squalls of rain and snow, and shipped great quantities of water; after which, for three or four days, though the seas ran mountains high, yet the weather was rather more moderate; but on the 18th, we had again strong gales of wind, with extreme cold, and at midnight, the main top-sail split, and one of the straps of the main dead eyes broke. From whence to the 23d, the weather was more favourable, though often intermixed with rain and fleet, and some hard gales; but as the waves did not subside, the ship, by labouring in this lofty sea, was now grown so loose in her upper works, that she let in the water at every seam, so that every part within board was constantly exposed to the sea water, and scarcely any of the officers ever lay in dry beds. Indeed it was very rare, that two nights ever passed without many of them being driven from their beds, by the deluge of water that came in upon them.

On the 23d, we had a most violent storm of wind, hail, and rain, with a very great sea; and though we handed the main top sail before the height of the squall, yet we found the yard sprung: and soon after, the foot rope of the main sail breaking, the main sail split itself instantly to rags, and in spite of our endeavours to save it, much the greater part of it was blown over board. On this the Commodore made the signal for the squadron to bring to; and the storm at length flattening to a calm, we had an opportunity of getting down our main top sail-yard, to put the carpenters to work upon it, and of repairing our rigging; after which, having bent a new main sail, we got under sail again with a moderate breeze; but in less than twenty four hours we were attacked by another storm still more furious than the former; for it proved a perfect hurricane, and reduced us to the necessity of lying to under our bare poles. As our ship kept the wind better than any of the rest, we were obliged in the afternoon to wear ship, in order to join the squadron to the leeward, which otherwise we should have been in danger of losing in the night; and as we durst not venture any sail abroad, we were obliged to make use of an expedient which answer-

ed our purpose ; this was putting the helm a weather, and manning the fore shrouds. But tho' this method proved successful for the end intended, yet, in the execution of it, one of our ablest seamen was canted over board ; we perceived, that, notwithstanding the prodigious agitation of the waves, he swam very strong, and it was with the utmost concern that we found ourselves incapable of assisting him ; indeed we were the more grieved at his unhappy fate, as we lost sight of him struggling with the waves, and conceived, from the manner in which he swam, that he might continue sensible for a considerable time longer of the horror attending his irretrievable situation.

Before this last-mentioned storm was quite abated, we found two of our main shrouds, and one mizen shroud broke, all which we knotted, and set up immediately. From whence we had an interval of three or four days less tempestuous than usual, but accompanied with a thick fog, in which we were obliged to fire guns almost every half hour, to keep our squadron together. On the 31st, we were alarmed by a gun fired from the Gloucester, and a signal made by her to speak with the Commodore ; we immediately bore down to her, and were prepared to hear of some terrible disaster ; but we were apprised of it before we joined her, for we saw that her main yard was broke in the flings. This was a grievous misfortune to us all at this juncture, as it was obvious, it would prove an hindrance to our sailing, and would detain us the longer in these inhospitable latitudes. But our future success and safety was not to be promoted by repining, but by resolution and activity ; and therefore, that this unhappy incident might delay us as little as possible, the Commodore ordered several carpenters to be put on board the Gloucester, from the other ships of the squadron, in order to repair her damage with the utmost expedition. And the captain of the Tryal complaining at the same time, that his pumps were so bad, and the sloop made so great a quantity of water, that he was scarcely able to keep her free ; the Commodore ordered him a pump ready fitted from his own ship. It was very fortunate for the Gloucester and the Tryal, that the weather proved more favourable this day, than for many days both before and after ;

since by this means they were enabled to receive the assistance which seemed essential to their preservation, and which they could scarcely have had at any other time, as it would have been extremely hazardous to have ventured a boat on board.

The next day, that is, on the first of April, the weather returned again to its customary bias, the sky looked dark and gloomy, and the wind began to freshen and to blow in squalls; however, it was not yet so boisterous as to prevent our carrying our top sails close reefed; but its appearance was such, as plainly prognosticated that a still severer tempest was at hand: and accordingly, on the 3d of April, there came on a storm, which, both in its violence and continuation (for it lasted three days) exceeded all that we had hitherto encountered. In its first onset we received a furious shock from a sea which broke upon our larboard quarter, where it stove in the quarter gallery, and rushed into the ship like a deluge; our rigging too suffered extremely from the blow: amongst the rest, one of the straps of the main dead eyes was broke, as was also a main shroud and puttock shroud; so that, to ease the stress upon the masts and shrouds, we lowered both our main and fore yards, and furled all our sails, and, in this posture, we lay to for three days, when the storm somewhat abating, we ventured to make sail under our courses only: but even this we could not do long: for, the next day, which was the 7th, we had another hard gale of wind, with lightning and rain, which obliged us to ly to again till night. It was wonderful that, notwithstanding the hard weather we had endured, no extraordinary accident had happened to any of the Squadron since the breaking of the Gloucester's mainyard: but this good fortune now no longer attended us; for, at three the next morning, several guns were fired to leeward as signals of distress: and the Commodore making a signal for the Squadron to bring to, we, at day break, saw the Wager a considerable way to leeward of any of the other ships; and we soon perceived that she had lost her mizen mast, and main top-sail-yard. We immediately bore down to her, and found this disaster had arisen from the badness of her iron work; for all the chain plates to windward had given way, upon the ship's fetching a deep roll. This proved the more un-

fortunate to the Wager, as her carpenter had been on board the Gloucester ever since the 31st of March, and the weather was now too severe to permit him to return: nor was the Wager the only ship of the Squadron that suffered in this tempest; for, the next day, a signal of distress was made by the Anna pink, and, upon speaking with the master, we learned that they had broke their fore stay, and the gammon of the bowsprit, and were in no small danger of having all their masts come by the board; so that we were obliged to bear away until they had made all fast, after which we haled upon a wind again.

And now, after all our solicitude, and the numerous ills of every kind to which we had been incessantly exposed for near forty days, we had great consolation in the flattering hopes we entertained, that our fatigues were drawing to a period, and that we should soon arrive in a more hospitable climate, where we should be amply repaid for all our past sufferings. For, towards the latter end of March we were advanced, by our reckoning, near 10° degrees to the westward of the westernmost point of Terra del Fuego: and this allowance being double what former navigators have thought necessary to be taken, in order to compensate the drift of the western current, we esteemed ourselves to be well advanced within the limits of the southern ocean, and had therefore been, ever since, standing to the northward with as much expedition as the turbulence of the weather, and our frequent disasters, permitted. And, on the 13th of April, we were but a degree in latitude to the southward of the west entrance of the Straits of Magellan; so that we fully expected, in a very few days, to have experienced the celebrated tranquillity of the Pacific ocean.

But these were delusions which only served to render our disappointment more terrible; for the next morning, between one and two, as we were standing to the northward, and the weather which had till then been hazy, accidentally cleared up, the pink made a signal for seeing land right a-head, and it being but two miles distant, we were all under the most dreadful apprehensions of running on shore; which, had either the wind blown from its usual quarter, with its wonted vigour, or had not the moon sud-

denly shone out, not a ship amongst us could possibly have avoided : but the wind, which some few hours before blew in squalls from the S. W. having fortunately shifted to W. N. W. we were enabled to stand to the southward and to clear ourselves of this unexpected danger, and were fortunate enough, by noon, to have gained an offing of near twenty leagues.

By the latitude of this land we fell in with, it was agreed to be a part of Terra del Fuego, near the southern outlet described in Frezier's chart of the Straits of Magellan, and was supposed to be that point called by him Cape Noir. It was indeed most wonderful, that the currents should have driven us to the eastward with such strength ; for the whole Squadron esteemed themselves upwards of ten degrees more westerly than this land ; so that, in running down, by our account, about nineteen degrees of longitude, we had not really advanced half that distance. And now, instead of having our labours and anxieties relieved, by approaching a warmer climate, and more tranquil seas, we were to steer again to the southward, and were again to combat those western blasts which had so often terrified us ; and this too, when we were greatly enfeebled by our men falling sick, and dying apace, and when our spirits, dejected by a long continuance at sea, and by our late disappointment, were much less capable of supporting us in the various difficulties which we could not but expect in this new undertaking. Add to all this too, the discouragement we received by the diminution of the strength of the Squadron ; for, three days before this, we lost sight of the Severn and the Pearl in the morning ; and though we spread our ships, and beat about for them for some time, yet we never saw them more ; whence we had apprehensions that they too might have fallen in with this land in the night, and, by being less favoured by the wind and moon than we were, might have run on shore and have perished. Full of these desponding thoughts and gloomy presages, we stood away to the S. W. prepared, by our late disaster, to suspect, that how large soever an allowance we made in our westing for the drift of the western current, we might still, upon a second trial, perhaps find it insufficient.

C H A P. IX.

Observations and Directions for facilitating the Passages of our future Cruisers round CAPE HORN.

THE improper season of the year in which we attempted to double Cape Horn, and to which is to be imputed the disappointment (recited in the foregoing chapter) of falling in with Terra del Fuego, when we reckoned ourselves above a hundred leagues to the westward of that whole coast, and consequently well advanced into the Pacific ocean; this unseasonable navigation, I say, to which we were necessitated by our too late departure from England, was the fatal source of all the misfortunes we afterwards encountered. For from hence proceeded the separation of our ships, the destruction of our people, the ruin of our project on Baldivia, and of all our other views on the Spanish places, and the reduction of our squadron from the formidable condition in which it passed Straits Le Maire, to a couple of shattered, half manned cruisers, and a sloop, so far disabled, that in many climates, they scarcely durst have put to sea. To prevent therefore, as much as in me lies, all ships hereafter bound to the South Seas from suffering the same calamities, I think it my duty to insert in this place, such directions and observations as either my own experience and reflexion, or the conversation of the most skilful navigators on board the squadron could furnish me with. in relation to the most eligible manner of doubling Cape Horn, whether in regard to the season of the year, the course proper to be steered, or the places of refreshment, both on the east and west side of South America.

And first, with regard to the proper place for refreshment on the east side of South America. For this purpose the island of St. Catharine's has been usually recommended by former writers, and on their faith we put in there, as has been formerly mentioned: but the treatment we met with, and the small store of refreshments we could procure there, are sufficient reasons to render all ships, for the future, cautious how they trust themselves in the go-

vernment of Don Jose Sylva de Paz ; for they may certainly depend on having their strength, condition, and designs, betrayed to the Spaniards, as far as the knowledge the governor can procure of these particulars will allow him. And as this treacherous conduct is inspired by the views of private gain, in the illicit commerce carried on to the river of Plate, rather than by any national affection which the Portuguese bear the Spaniards, the same perfidy may perhaps be expected from most of the governors of the Brazil coast, since these smuggling engagements are doubtless very extensive and general. And though the governors should themselves detest so faithless a procedure; yet as ships are perpetually passing from some or other of the Brazil ports to the river of Plate, the Spaniards could scarcely fail of receiving, by this means, casual intelligence of any British ships upon the coast ; which, however imperfect such intelligence might be, would prove of dangerous import to the views and interests of those cruisers who were thus discovered.

For the Spanish trade, in the South Seas, running all in one track from north to south, with very little deviation to the eastward or westward, it is in the power of two or three cruisers, properly stationed in different parts of this track, to possess themselves of every ship that puts to sea ; but this is only so long as they can continue concealed from the neighbouring coast ; for the instant an enemy is known to be in those seas, all navigation is prohibited, and consequently all captures are at an end ; since the Spaniards, well apprized of these advantages of the enemy, send expresses along the coast, and lay a general embargo on all their trade ; a measure which they prudentially foresee will not only prevent their vessels from being taken, but will soon lay any cruisers, who have not strength sufficient to attempt their places, under the necessity of returning home. Hence, then, appears the great importance of concealing all expeditions of this kind ; and hence too it follows, how extremely prejudicial that intelligence may prove, which is given by the Portuguese governors to the Spaniards, in relation to the designs of ships touching at the ports of Brazil.

However, notwithstanding the inconveniences we have

mentioned of touching on the coast of Brazil, it will oftentimes happen, that ships bound round Cape Horn will be obliged to call there for a supply of wood and water, and other refreshments. In this case St. Catharine's is the last place I would recommend; both as the proper animals for a live stock at sea, as hogs, sheep, and fowls, cannot be procured there, (for want of which we found ourselves greatly distressed, by being reduced to live almost entirely on salt provisions); and also, because from its being nearer the river of Plate than many of their other settlements, the inducements and conveniences of betraying us are much stronger. The place I would recommend is Rio Janeiro, where two of our Squadron put in after they were separated from us in passing Cape Horn: for here, as I have been informed by one of the gentlemen on board those ships, any quantity of hogs and poultry may be procured, and this place being more distant from the river of Plate, the difficulty of intelligence is somewhat enhanced, and consequently the chance of continuing there undiscovered, in some degree augmented. Other measures which may effectually obviate all these embarrassments, shall be considered more at large hereafter.

I next proceed to the consideration of the proper course to be steered for doubling Cape Horn. And here, I think, I am sufficiently authorised by our own fatal experience, and by a careful comparison and examination of the journals of former navigators, to give this piece of advice, which, in prudence, I think, ought never to be departed from: that is, that all ships bound to the South Seas, instead of passing through Straits Le Maire, should constantly pass to the eastward of Staten-land, and should be invariably bent on running to the southward, as far as the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before they endeavour to stand to the westward; and that, when they are got into that latitude, they should then make sure of sufficient westing, before they once think of steering to the northward.

But as directions diametrically opposite to these have been formerly given by other writers, it is incumbent on me to produce my reasons for each part of this maxim. And first, as to the passing to the eastward of Staten-land, those who have attended to the risk we ran in passing the

Straits Le Maire, the danger we were in of being driven upon Staten land by the current, when though we happily escaped being put on shore, we were yet carried to the eastward of that island; those who reflect on this, and the like accidents which have happened to other ships, will surely not esteem it prudent to pass through Straits Le Maire, and run the risk of shipwreck, and after all find themselves no farther to the westward, (the only reason hitherto given for this practice) than they might have been in the same time, by a secure navigation in an open sea.

And next, as to the directions I have given for running into the latitude of 61 or 62 south, before any endeavour is made to stand to the westward: the reasons for this precept are, that in all probability the violence of the currents will be hereby avoided, and the weather will prove less tempestuous and uncertain. This last circumstance we ourselves experienced most remarkably; for after we had unexpectedly fallen in with the land, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, we stood away to the southward to run clear of it, and were no sooner advanced into sixty degrees or upwards, but we met with much better weather and smoother water than in any other part of the whole passage: the air indeed was very cold and sharp, and we had strong gales, but they were steady and uniform, and we had at the same time sunshine and a clear sky; whereas in the lower latitudes, the winds every now and then intermitted, as it were to recover new strength, and then returned suddenly in the most violent gusts, threatening at each blast the loss of our masts, which must have ended in our certain destruction. And that the currents in this high latitude would be of much less efficacy than nearer the land, seems to be evinced from these considerations, that all currents run with greater violence near the shore, than at sea, and that, at great distances from shore, they are scarcely perceptible. Indeed the reason of this seems sufficiently obvious, if we consider that constant currents are, in all probability, produced by constant winds, the wind driving before it, though with a slow and imperceptible motion, a large body of water, which being accumulated upon any coast it meets with, must escape along the shore by the endeavours of its surface to reduce itself to the same level with the rest of the ocean. And it

is reasonable to suppose, that those violent gusts of wind which we experienced near the shore, so very different from what we found in the latitude of 60° and upwards, may be owing to a similar cause; for a westerly wind almost perpetually prevails in the southern part of the Pacific ocean: and this current of air being interrupted by those immense hills called the Andes, and by the mountains on Terra del Fuego, which together bar up the whole country to the southward, as far as Cape Horn, a part of it only can force its way over the tops of those prodigious precipices, whilst the rest must naturally follow the direction of the coast, and must range down the land to the southward, and sweep with an impetuous and irregular blast round Cape Horn, and the southernmost part of Terra del Fuego. However, not to rely on these speculations, we may, I believe, establish as incontestible these matters of fact, that both the rapidity of the currents, and the violence of the western gales, are less sensible in the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, than nearer the shore of Terra del Fuego.

But though I am satisfied both from our own experience, and the relations of other navigators, of the importance of the precept I here insist on, that of running into the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before any endeavours are made to stand to the westward; yet I would advise no ships hereafter to trust so far to this management as to neglect another almost essential maxim, which is, the making this passage in the height of summer, that is, in the months of December and January; and the more distant the time of passage is taken from this season, the more disastrous it may be reasonably expected to prove. Indeed, if the mere violence of the western winds be considered, the time of our passage, which was about the equinox, was perhaps the most unfavourable of the whole year; but then it must be remembered, that independent of the winds, there are, in the depths of winter, many other inconveniences to be apprehended, which are almost insuperable: for the severity of the cold, and the shortness of the days, would render it impracticable at that season to run so far to the southward as is here recommended; and the same reasons would greatly augment the alarms of sailing in the neighbourhood of an unknown

shore, dreadful in its appearance in the midst of summer, and would make a winter navigation on this coast, to be of all others the most dismaying and terrible. As I would therefore advise all ships to make their passage in December and January, if possible; so I would warn them never to attempt the doubling of Cape Horn from the eastward, after the month of March.

And now, as to the remaining consideration, that is, the properest port for cruisers to refresh at on their first arrival on the South Seas: on this head, there is scarcely any choice, the island of Juan Fernandes being the only place that can be prudently recommended for this purpose. For though there are many ports on the western side of Patagonia, between the Straits of Magellan and the Spanish settlements (a plan of one of which will be referred to in the course of this work), where ships might ride in great safety, might recruit their wood and water, and might procure some few refreshments; yet that coast is in itself so dangerous, from its numerous rocks and breakers, and from the violence of the western winds, which blow constantly full upon it, that it is by no means adviseable to fall in with that land, at least till the roads, channels, and anchorage in each part of it, are accurately surveyed, and both the perils and shelters it abounds with are most distinctly known.

Thus having given the best directions in my power for the success of our cruisers who may be hereafter bound to the South Seas, it might be expected that I should again resume the thread of my narration. Yet as both in the preceding and subsequent parts of this work, I have thought it my duty, not only to recite all such facts, and to inculcate such maxims as had the least appearance of proving beneficial to future navigators; but also, occasionally to recommend such measures to the public, as I conceive are adapted to promote the same laudable purpose, I cannot desist from the present subject, without beseeching those to whom the conduct of our naval affairs is committed, to endeavour to remove the many perplexities and embarrassments with which the navigation to the South Seas is at present necessarily incumbered. An effort of this kind could not fail of proving highly honour-

able to themselves, and extremely beneficial to their country. For it seems to be sufficiently evident, that whatever improvements navigation shall receive, either by the invention of methods that shall render its practice less hazardous, or by the more accurate delineation of the coasts, roads, and ports already known, or by the discovery of new nations, or new species of commerce; it seems, I say, sufficiently evident, that by whatever means navigation is promoted, the conveniences hence arising must ultimately redound to the emolument of Great Britain. Since, as our fleets are at present superior to those of the whole world united, it must be a matchless degree of supineness or mean spiritedness, if we permitted any of the advantages which new discoveries, or a more extended navigation, may produce to mankind, to be ravished from us.

As therefore it appears that all our future expeditions to the South Seas must run a considerable risk of proving abortive, whilst in our passage thither we are under the necessity of touching at Brazil, the discovery of some place more to the southward, where ships might refresh and supply themselves with the necessary sea stock for their voyage round Cape Horn, would be an expedient which would relieve us from this embarrassment, and would surely be a matter worthy of the attention of the public. Nor does this seem difficult to be effected. For we have already the imperfect knowledge of two places, which might perhaps, on examination, prove extremely convenient for this purpose; one of them is Pepy's island, in the latitude of 47° south, and laid down by Dr. Hally, about eighty leagues to the eastward of Cape Blanco, on the coast of Patagonia; the other is Falkland's isles, in the latitude of $51^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$, lying nearly south of Pepy's island. The first of these was discovered by Captain Cowley, in his voyage round the world, in the year 1686, who represents it as a commodious place for ships to wood and water at, and says it is provided with a very good and capacious harbour, where a thousand sail of ships might ride at anchor in great safety; that it abounds with fowls, and that, as the shore is either rocks or sands, it seems to promise great plenty of fish. The second place, or Falkland's isles, have been seen by many ships, both

French and English, being the land laid down by Frezier, in his chart of the extremity of South America, under the title of the New Islands. Woods Rogers, who ran along the N. E. coast of these isles in the year 1708, tells us, that they extended about two degrees in length, and appeared with gentle descents from hill to hill, and seemed to be good ground, interspersed with woods, and not destitute of harbours. Either of these places, as they are islands at a considerable distance from the continent, may be supposed from their latitude, to lie in a climate sufficiently temperate. It is true, they are too little known to be at present recommended as the most eligible places of refreshment for ships bound to the southward; but if the Admiralty should think it adviseable to order them to be surveyed, which may be done at a very small expence, by a vessel fitted out on purpose: and if, on this examination, one or both of those places should appear proper for the purpose intended, it is scarcely to be conceived of what prodigious import a convenient station might prove, situated so far to the southward, and so near Cape Horn. The Duke and Dutchess of Bristol were but thirty five days from their losing sight of Falkland's isles, to their arrival at Juan Fernandes in the South Seas: and as the returning back is much facilitated by the western winds, I doubt not but a voyage might be made from Falkland's isles to Juan Fernandes, and back again, in little more than two months. This, even in time of peace, might be of great consequence to this nation, and, in time of war, would make us masters of those seas.

And as all discoveries of this kind, though extremely honourable to those who direct and promote them, may yet be carried on at an inconsiderable expence, since small vessels are much the properest to be employed in this service, it were to be wished that the whole coast of Patagonia, Terra del Fuego, and Staten-land, were carefully surveyed, and the numerous channels, roads, and harbours with which they abound, were accurately examined. This might open to us facilities of passing into the Pacific ocean, which as yet we may be unacquainted with, and would render all that southern navigation infinitely securer than at present; particularly an exact draught of the west coast of Patagonia, from the Straits of Magellan

to the Spanish settlements, might perhaps furnish us with better and more convenient ports for refreshment, and better situated for the purposes either of war or commerce, and above a fortnight's sail nearer to Falkland's islands, than the island of Juan Fernandes. The discovery of this coast hath formerly been thought of such consequence, by reason of its neighbourhood to the Araucos, and other Chilian Indians, who are generally at war, or at least on ill terms with their Spanish neighbours, that Sir John Narborough was purposely fitted out, in the reign of King Charles II. to survey the Straits of Magellan, the neighbouring coast of Patagonia, and the Spanish ports on that frontier, with directions, if possible, to procure some intercourse with the Chilian Indians, and to establish a commerce and a lasting correspondence with them. His Majesty's view in employing Sir John Narborough in this expedition, was not solely the advantage he might hope to receive from the alliance of those savages, in restraining and intimidating the crown of Spain; but he conceived, that, independent of those motives, the immediate traffic with these Indians might prove extremely advantageous to the English nation. For it is well known, that at the first discovery of Chili by the Spaniards, it abounded with vast quantities of gold, much beyond what it has at any time produced, since it has been in their possession. And hence it has been generally believed, that the richest mines are carefully concealed by the Indians, as well knowing that the discovery of them would only excite in the Spaniards a greater thirst for conquest and tyranny, and would render their own independence more precarious. But, with respect to their commerce with the English, these reasons would no longer influence them; since it would be in our power to furnish them with arms and ammunition of all kinds, of which they are extremely desirous, together with many other conveniences which their intercourse with the Spaniards has taught them to relish. They would then, in all probability, open their mines, and gladly embrace a traffic of such mutual convenience to both nations: for then their gold, instead of proving an incitement to enslave them, would procure them weapons to assert their liberty, to chastise their tyrants, and to secure themselves for ever from the Spanish yoke; whilst, with our assistance, and under our protec-

tion, they might become a considerable people, and might secure to us that wealth, which formerly by the house of Austria, and lately by the house of Bourbon, has been most mischievously lavished in the pursuit of universal monarchy.

It is true, Sir John Narborough did not succeed in opening this commerce, which in appearance promised so many advantages to this nation. However, his disappointment was merely accidental, and his transactions upon that coast (besides the many valuable improvements he furnished to geography and navigation) are rather an encouragement for future trials of this kind, than any objection against them; his principal misfortune being the losing company of a small bark which attended him, and having some of his people trepanned at Baldivia. However, it appeared, by the precautions and fears of the Spaniards, that they were fully convinced of the practicability of the scheme he was sent to execute, and extremely alarmed with the apprehension of its consequences. It is said, that his Majesty King Charles II. was so far prepossessed with the belief of the emoluments which might redound to the public from this expedition, and was so eager to be informed of the event of it, that, having intelligence of Sir John Narborough's passing through the Downs on his return, he had not patience to attend his arrival at court, but went himself in his barge to Gravesend to meet him.

To facilitate as much as possible any attempts of this kind, which may be hereafter undertaken, I have, in the thirteenth plate, given a chart of that part of the world, as far as it is hitherto known, which I flatter myself is, in some respect, much correcter than any which has been yet published. To evince which, it may be necessary to mention what materials I have principally made use of, and what changes I have introduced different from other authors.

The two most celebrated charts hitherto published, of the southermost part of South America, are those of Dr. Hally, in his general chart of the magnetic variation, and of Frezier, in his voyage to the South Seas. But, besides these, there is a chart of the Straits of Magellan,

and of some part of the adjacent coast, by Sir John Narborough above-mentioned, which is doubtless infinitely exacter in that part than Frezier's, and in some respects superior to Hally's, particularly in what relates to the longitudes of the different parts of those Straits. The coast, from Cape Blanco to Terra del Fuego, and thence to Straits Le Maire, we were in some measure capable of correcting by our own observations, as we ranged that shore generally in sight of land. The position of the land, to the northward of the Straits of Magellan, on the west side, is doubtless laid down in our chart but very imperfectly: and yet I believe it to be much nearer the truth than what has hitherto been done; as it is drawn from the information of some of the Wager's crew who were shipwrecked on that shore, and afterwards coasted it down; and as it agrees pretty nearly with the description of some Spanish manuscripts I have seen. The channel dividing Terra del Fuego is drawn from Frezier: but Sir Francis Drake, who first discovered Cape Horn, and the S. W. part of Terra del Fuego, observed that whole coast to be divided by a great number of inlets, all which, he conceived, did communicate with the Straits of Magellan. And I doubt not, that whenever this country is thoroughly examined, this circumstance will be fully verified, and Terra del Fuego will be found to consist of several islands.

And having mentioned Frezier so often, I must not omit warning all future navigators against relying on the longitude of Straits Le Maire, or of any part of that coast laid down in his chart, the whole being from eight to ten degrees too far to the eastward, if any faith can be given to the concurrent evidences of a great number of journals, verified in some particulars, by astronomical observations. For instance, Sir John Narborough places Cape Virgin Mary in $65^{\circ} : 42'$ of west longitude from the Lizard, that is, in about $71^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$ from London. And the ships of our squadron who took their departure from St. Catharine's (where the longitude was rectified by an observation of the eclipse of the moon) found Cape Virgin Mary to be from $70^{\circ} \frac{3}{4}$, to $72^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$ from London, according to their different reckonings; and since there were no circumstances in our run that could make it considerably erroneous, it cannot be esteemed in less than 71 degrees of

west longitude; whereas Frezier lays it down in less than 66 degrees from Paris, that is, little more than 63 degrees from London, which is doubtless eight degrees short of its true quantity. Again, our squadron found Cape Virgin Mary, and Straits Le Maire, to be not more than 2° different in longitude, which in Frezier are distant near four degrees; so that, not only Cape St. Bartholomew is laid down in him near ten degrees too little, but the coast from the Straits of Magellan to Straits Le Maire, is enlarged to near double its real extent.

But to have done with Frezier, whose errors the importance of the subject, and not a fondness for cavelling, has obliged me to remark, (though his treatment of Dr. Hally might, on the present occasion, authorize much severer usage) I must, in the next place, relate wherein the chart I have here inserted differs from that of our learned countryman last mentioned.

It is well known that this gentleman was sent abroad by the public, to make such geographical and astronomical observations as might facilitate the future practice of navigation, and particularly to determine the variation of the compass in such places as he should touch at, and, if possible, to ascertain its general laws and affections. These things Dr. Hally, to his immortal reputation, and the honour of our nation, in a good measure accomplished; especially with regard to the variation of the compass, a subject, of all others, the most interesting to those employed in the art of navigation. He likewise corrected the position of the coast of Brazil, which had been very erroneously laid down by all former hydrographers; and from a judicious comparison of the observations of others, he happily succeeded in settling the geography of many considerable places, where he had not himself been. So that the chart he composed, with the variation of the needle marked thereon, being the result of his labours on this subject, was allowed by all Europe to be far completer in its geography than any that had, till then, been published, whilst it was, at the same time, most surprisingly exact in the quantity of variation assigned to the different parts of the globe; a subject so very intricate and perplexing, that

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all general determinations about it had been usually deemed impossible.

But as the only means he had of correcting the situation of those coasts where he did not touch himself, were the observations of others, when those observations were wanting, or were inaccurate, it was no imputation on his skill, that his decisions were defective. And this, upon the best comparison I have been able to make, is the case with regard to that part of his chart, which contains the south coast of South America. For though the coast of Brazil, and the opposite coast of Peru on the South Seas, are laid down, I presume, with the greatest accuracy; yet, from about the river of Plate on the east side, and its opposite point on the west, the coast gradually declines too much to the westward, so as, at the Straits of Magellan, to be, as I conceive, about fifty leagues removed from its true position: at least, this is the result of the observations of our Squadron, which agree extremely well with those of Sir John Narborough. I must add, that Dr. Hally has, in the philosophical transactions, given the foundation on which he has proceeded, in fixing port St. Julian in $76^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$ of west longitude; which the concurrent journals of our Squadron place from $70^{\circ} \frac{3}{4}$ to $71^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$. This, he tells us, was an observation of an eclipse of the moon, made at that place by Mr. Wood, then Sir John Narborough's lieutenant, and which is said to have happened there at eight in the evening, on the 18th of September 1670. But Captain Wood's journal of this whole voyage, under Sir John Narborough, is since published, together with this observation, in which he determines the longitude of port St. Julian to be 73 degrees from London, and the time of the eclipse to have been different from Dr. Hally's account. But the numbers he has given are so faultily printed, that nothing can be determined from them.

To what I have already mentioned, with regard to the chart hereunto annexed, I shall only add, that, to render it more complete, I have inserted therein the route of our Squadron, and have delineated, in the passage round Cape Horn, both the real tract which we described, and the imaginary tract exhibited by our reckoning; whence the violence of the currents, in that part of the world, and

the enormous deviations which they produce, will appear by inspection. And that no material article might be omitted in this important affair, the soundings on the coast of Patagonia, and the variation of the magnetic needle, are annexed to those parts of this tract, where, by our observations, we found them to be of the quantity there specified.

CHAP. X.

From CAPE NOIR to the Island of JUAN FERNANDES.

AFTER the mortifying disappointment of falling in with the coast of Terra del Fuego, when we esteemed ourselves ten degrees to the westward of it, as hath been at large recited in the eighth chapter, we stood away to the S. W. till the 22d of April, when we were in upwards of 60° of south latitude, and, by our account, near 6° to the westward of Cape Noir. In this run we had a series of as favourable weather as could well be expected in that part of the world, even in a better season: so that this interval, setting the inquietude of our thoughts aside, was, by far, the most eligible of any we enjoyed from Straits Le Maire to the west coast of America. This moderate weather continued with little variation till the 24th; but on the 24th in the evening, the wind began to blow fresh, and soon increased to a prodigious storm; and the weather being extremely thick, about midnight we lost sight of the other four ships of the Squadron, which, notwithstanding the violence of the preceding storms, had hitherto kept in company with us. Nor was this our sole misfortune; for, the next morning, endeavouring to hand the top sails, the clew lines and bunt-lines broke, and the sheets being half flown, every seam in the top sails was soon split from top to bottom, and the main top sail shook so strong in the wind, that it carried away the top lanthorn, and endangered the head of the mast; however, at length some of the most daring of our men ventured upon the yard, and cut the sail away close to the reefs, though with the utmost hazard of their lives; whilst at the same time, the fore top sail beat about the yard with so much fury, that it was soon blown to pieces. Nor was our attention to our top sails our sole employment; for the main sail blew

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loose, which obliged us to lower down the yard to secure the sail; and the foreyard being likewise lowered, we lay to under a mizen. In this storm, besides the loss of our top sails, we had much of our rigging broke, and lost a main studding sail boom out of the chains.

On the 25th, about noon, the weather became more moderate, which enabled us to sway up our yards, and to repair, in the best manner we could, our shattered rigging; but still we had no sight of the rest of our Squadron, nor indeed were we joined by any of them, till after our arrival at Juan Fernandes; nor did any two of them, as we have since learned, continue in company together: this total and almost instantaneous separation, was the more wonderful, as we had hitherto kept together for seven weeks, through all the reiterated tempests of this turbulent climate. It must indeed be owned, that we had hence room to expect, that we might make our passage in a shorter time than if we had continued together, because we could now make the best of our way, without being retarded by the misfortunes of the other ships; but then we had the melancholy reflection, that we ourselves were hereby deprived of the assistance of others, and our safety would depend upon our single ship: so that if a plank started, or any other accident of the same nature should take place, we must all irrecoverably perish: or should we be driven on shore, we had the uncomfortable prospect of ending our days on some desolate coast, without any reasonable hope of ever getting off again: whereas, with another ship in company, all these calamities are much less formidable, since, in every kind of danger, there would be some probability that one ship at least might escape, and might be capable of preserving or relieving the crew of the other.

The remaining part of this month of April we had generally hard gales, although we had been every day, since the 22d, edging to the northward; however, on the last day of the month, we flattered ourselves with the expectation of soon terminating all our sufferings, for we that day found ourselves in the latitude of $52^{\circ} 13'$, which, being to the northward of the Straits of Magellan, we were assured that we had completed our passage, and had arriv-

ed in the confines of the southern ocean ; and this ocean being denominated Pacific, from the equability of the seasons which are said to prevail there, and the facility and security with which navigation is there carried on, we doubted not but we should be speedily cheered with the moderate gales, the smooth water, and the temperate air, for which that tract of the globe has been so renowned. And, under the influence of these pleasing circumstances, we hoped to experience some kind of compensation for the complicated miseries which had so constantly attended us for the last eight weeks. But here we were again disappointed ; for, in the succeeding month of May, our sufferings rose to a much higher pitch than they had ever yet done, whether we consider the violence of the storms, the shattering of our sails and rigging, or the diminishing and weakening of our crew by deaths and sickness, and the probable prospect of our total destruction. All this will be sufficiently evident, from the following circumstantial account of our diversified misfortunes.

Soon after our passing Straits Le Maire, the scurvy began to make its appearance amongst us ; and our long continuance at sea, the fatigue we underwent, and the various disappointments we met with, had occasioned its spreading to such a degree, that, at the latter end of April, there were but few on board who were not in some degree afflicted with it ; and, in that month, no less than forty three died of it on board the *Centurion*. But though we thought that the distemper had then risen to an extraordinary height, and were willing to hope, that as we advanced to the northward, its malignity would abate, yet we found, on the contrary, that, in the month of May, we lost near double that number : and as we did not get to land till the middle of June, the mortality went on increasing, and the disease extended itself so prodigiously, that, after the loss of above two hundred men, we could not at last muster more than six foremast men, in a watch, capable of duty.

This disease so frequently attending long voyages, and so particularly destructive to us, is surely the most singular and unaccountable of any that affects the human body. Its symptoms are inconstant and innumerable, and its pro-

gress and effects extremely irregular: for scarcely any two persons have complaints exactly resembling each other; and where there have been found some conformity in the symptoms, the order of their appearance has been totally different. However, though it frequently puts on the form of many other diseases, and is therefore not to be described by any exclusive and infallible criterions; yet there are some symptoms which are more general than the rest, and, occurring the oftenest, deserve a more particular enumeration. These common appearances are large discoloured spots, dispersed over the whole surface of the body, swelled legs, putrid gums, and, above all, an extraordinary lassitude of the whole body, especially after any exercise, however inconsiderable; and this lassitude, at last, degenerates into a proneness to swoon, and even die, on the least exertion of strength, or even on the least motion.

This disease is likewise usually attended with a strange dejection of the spirits, and with shiverings, tremblings, and a disposition to be seized with the most dreadful terrors on the slightest accident. Indeed it was most remarkable, in all our reiterated experience of this malady, that whatever discouraged our people, or at any time damped their hopes, never failed to add new vigour to the distemper; for it usually killed those who were in the last stages of it, and confined those to their hammocks who were before capable of some kind of duty; so that it seemed as if alacrity of mind, and sanguine thoughts, were no contemptible preservatives from its fatal malignity.

But it is not easy to complete the long roll of the various concomitants of this disease; for it often produced putrid fevers, pleurisies, the jaundice, and violent rheumatic pains, and sometimes it occasioned an obstinate costiveness, which was generally attended with a difficulty of breathing: and this was esteemed the most deadly of all the scorbutic symptoms. At other times the whole body, but more especially the legs, were subject to ulcers of the worst kind, attended with rotten bones, and such a luxuriancy of fungous flesh, as yielded to no remedy. But a most extraordinary circumstance, and what would be scarcely credible upon any single evidence, is, that the scars of wounds, which had been for many years healed, were

forced open again by this virulent distemper. Of this there was a remarkable instance in one of the invalids on board the *Centurion*, who had been wounded above fifty years before at the battle of the Boyne; for though he was cured soon after, and had continued well for a great number of years past, yet on his being attacked by the scurvy, his wounds, in the progress of his disease, broke out afresh, and appeared as if they had never been healed; nay, what is still more astonishing, the callus of a broken bone, which had been completely formed for a long time, was found to be hereby dissolved, and the fracture seemed as if it had never been consolidated. Indeed, the effects of this disease were, in almost every instance, wonderful; for many of our people, though confined to their hammocks, appeared to have no inconsiderable share of health; for they ate and drank heartily, were chearful, and talked with much seeming vigour, and with a loud, strong tone of voice; and yet, on their being the least moved, though it was only from one part of the ship to the other, and that too in their hammocks, they have immediately expired; and others, who have confided in their seeming strength, and have resolved to get out of their hammocks, have died before they could well reach the deck: nor was it an uncommon thing for those who are able to walk the deck, and to do some kind of duty, to drop down dead in an instant, on any endeavours to act with their utmost effort, many of our people having perished in this manner during the course of this voyage.

With this terrible disease we struggled the greatest part of the time of our bearing round Cape Horn; and though it did not then rage with its utmost violence, yet we buried no less than forty three men on board the *Centurion* in the month of April, as hath been already observed: however, we still entertained hopes, that when we should have once secured our passage round the Cape, we should put a period to this, and all the other evils which had so constantly pursued us. But it was, our misfortune to find that the Pacific ocean was to us less hospitable than the turbulent neighbourhood of Terra del Fuego and Cape Horn. For being arrived, on the 8th of May, off the island of Socoro, which was the first rendezvous appointed for the Squadron, and where we hoped to have met with

some of our companions, we cruised for them in that station several days. But here we were not only disappointed in our expectations of being joined by our friends, and were thereby induced to favour the gloomy suggestions of their having all perished; but we were likewise perpetually alarmed with the fears of being driven on shore upon this coast, which appeared too craggy and irregular to give us the least prospect that, in such a case, any of us could possibly escape immediate destruction. For the land had indeed a most tremendous aspect; the most distant part of it, and which appeared far within the country, being the mountains usually called the Andes or Cordilleras, was extremely high and covered with snow, and the coast itself seemed quite rocky and barren, and the water's edge skirted with precipices. In some places indeed, we discerned several deep bays running into the land, but the entrance into them was generally blocked up by numbers of little islands; and though it was not improbable but there might be convenient shelter in some of these bays, and proper channels leading thereto, yet as we were utterly ignorant of the coast, had we been driven ashore by the western winds, which blew almost constantly there, we did not expect to have avoided the loss of our ship and of our lives.

This continued peril, which lasted for above a fortnight, was greatly aggravated by the difficulties we found in working the ship; as the scurvy had by this time destroyed so great a part of our hands, and had, in some degree, affected almost the whole crew. Nor did we, as we hoped, find the winds less violent as we advanced to the northward; for we had often prodigious squalls, which split our sails, greatly damaged our rigging, and endangered our masts. Indeed, during the greatest part of the time we were upon this coast, the wind blew so hard, that in another situation where we had sufficient sea room, we should certainly have lain to; but in the present exigency we were necessitated to carry both our courses and top sails, in order to keep clear of this lee-shore. In one of these squalls, which was attended by several violent claps of thunder, a sudden flash of fire darted along our decks, which dividing, exploded with a report like that of several pistols, and wounded many of our men and officers as it

passed, marking them in different parts of the body; this flame was attended with a strong sulphureous stench, and was doubtless of the same nature with the larger and more violent blasts of lightning which then filled the air.

It were endless to recite minutely the various disasters, fatigues, and terrors, which we encountered on this coast; all these went on increasing till the 22d of May, at which time, the fury of all the storms which we had hitherto encountered seemed to be combined, and to have conspired our destruction. In this hurricane almost all our sails were split, and great part of our standing rigging broken; and about eight in the evening a mountainous over grown sea took us upon our starboard quarter, and gave us so prodigious a shock, that several of our shrouds broke with the jerk, by which our masts were greatly endangered; our ballast and stores too were so strangely shifted, that the ship heeled afterwards two streaks to port. Indeed it was a most tremendous blow, and we were thrown into the utmost consternation from the apprehension of instantly foundering; and though the wind abated in a few hours, yet as we had no more sails left in a condition to bend to our yards, the ship laboured very much in a hollow sea, rolling gunwale to, for want of sail to steady her; so that we expected our masts, which were now very slenderly supported, to come by the board every moment. However, we exerted ourselves the best way we could to stirrup our shrouds, to reeve new lanyards, and to mend our sails; but while these necessary operations were carrying on, we ran great risk of being driven on shore on the island of Chiloe, which was not far distant from us; but in the midst of our peril, the wind happily shifted to the southward, and we steered off the land with the mainsail only, the master and myself undertaking the management of the helm, while every one else on board was busied in securing the masts, and bending the sails as fast as they could be repaired. This was the last effort of that stormy climate; for in a day or two after, we got clear of the land, and found the weather more moderate than we had yet experienced since our passing Straits Le Maire. And now having cruised in vain for more than a fortnight in quest of the other ships of the squadron, it was resolved to take the advantage of the present favourable season, and

the offing we had made from this terrible coast, and to make the best of our way for the island of Juan Fernandes. For though our next rendezvous was appointed off the harbour of Baldivia, yet as we had hitherto seen none of our companions at this first rendezvous, it was not to be supposed that any of them would be found at the second: indeed we had the greatest reason to suspect that all but ourselves had perished. Besides, we were by this time reduced to so low a condition, that instead of attempting to attack the places of the enemy, our utmost hopes could only suggest to us the possibility of saving the ship, and some part of the remaining enfeebled crew, by our speedy arrival at Juan Fernandes; for this was the only road, in that part of the world, where there was any probability of our recovering our sick, or refitting our vessel; and consequently, our getting thither was the only chance we had left to avoid perishing at sea.

Our deplorable situation, then, allowing no room for deliberation, we stood for the island of Juan Fernandes; and to save time, which was now extremely precious, (our men dying four, five, six, in a day) and likewise to avoid being engaged again with a lee-shore, we resolved, if possible, to hit the island upon a meridian. And on the 28th of May, being nearly in the parallel upon which it is laid down, we had great expectations of seeing it; but not finding it in the position in which the charts had taught us to expect it, we began to fear that we had gone too far to the westward; and therefore, though the Commadore himself was strongly persuaded that he saw it on the morning of the 28th, yet his officers believing it to be only a cloud, to which opinion the haziness of the weather gave some kind of countenance, it was, on a consultation, resolved to stand to the eastward in the parallel of the island; as it was certain that by this course we should either fall in with the island, if we were already to the westward of it, or should at least make the main land of Chili, from whence we might take a new departure, and assure ourselves, by running to the westward afterwards, of not missing the island a second time.

On the 30th of May, we had a view of the continent of Chili, distant about twelve or thirteen leagues; the

land made exceeding high and uneven, and appeared quite white, what we saw being doubtless a part of the Cordilleras, which are always covered with snow. Tho' by this view of the land we ascertained our position, yet it gave us great uneasiness to find that we had so needlessly altered our course, when we were in all probability just upon the point of making the island; for the mortality among us was now increased to a most dreadful degree, and those who remained alive were utterly dispirited by this new disappointment, and the prospect of their longer continuance at sea; our water too began to grow scarce, so that a general dejection prevailed amongst us, which added much to the virulence of the disease, and destroyed numbers of our best men; and to all these calamities there was added this vexatious circumstance, that when, after having got a sight of the main, we tacked, and stood to the westward in quest of the island, we were so much delayed by calms, and contrary winds, that it cost us nine days to regain the westing, which, when we stood to the eastward, we ran down in two. In this desponding condition, with a crazy ship, a great scarcity of fresh water, and a crew so universally diseased, that there were not above ten foremast men in a watch, capable of doing duty, and even some of these lame and unable to go aloft; under these disheartening circumstances we stood to the westward: and on the 9th of June, at day break, we at last discovered the long-wished for island of Juan Fernandes. With this discovery, I shall close this chapter, and the first book, after observing (which will furnish a very strong image of our unparalleled distresses), that, by our suspecting ourselves to be to the westward of the island on the 28th of May, and in consequence of this standing in on the main, we lost between seventy and eighty of our men, whom we should doubtless have saved, had we made the island that day, which, had we kept on our course, for a few hours longer, we could not have failed to have done.

END OF BOOK FIRST.

ON the 9th of June at day break, as is mentioned in the preceding chapter, we first descried the island of Juan Fernandes, bearing N. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. at eleven or twelve leagues distance. And though on this first view, it appeared to be a very mountainous place, extremely rugged and irregular; yet as it was land, and the land we sought for, it was to us a most agreeable sight; because at this place only we could help to put a period to those terrible calamities we had so long struggled with, which had already swept away above half our crew, and which, had we continued a few days longer at sea, would inevitably have completed our destruction. For we were by this time reduced to so helpless a condition, that out of two hundred and odd men which remained alive, we could not, taking all our watches together, muster hands enough to work the ship on an emergency, though we included the officers, their servants, and the boys.

The wind being northerly when we first made the island, we kept plying all that day, and the next night, in order to get in with the land; and, wearing the ship in the middle watch, we had a melancholy instance of the almost incredible debility of our people; for the lieutenant could muster no more than two quarter-masters, and six foremast men capable of working; so that, without the assistance of the officers, servants, and the boys, it might have proved impossible for us to have reached the island, after we had got sight of it: and even with this assistance they were two hours in trimming the sails; to so wretched a condition was a sixty gun ship reduced, which had passed Straits Le Maire but three months before, with between four and five hundred men, almost all of them in health and vigour.

However, on the 10th, in the afternoon, we got under the lee of the island, and kept ranging along it at about two miles distance, in order to look out for the proper anchorage, which was described to be in a bay on the north side. Being now nearer in with the shore, we could discover, that the broken craggy precipices, which had appeared so unpromising at a distance, were far from barren, being in most places covered with woods, and that between them there were every where interspersed the finest valleys, clothed with a most beautiful verdure, and watered with numerous streams and cascades, no valley of any extent being unprovided of its proper rill. The water too, as we afterwards found, was not inferior to any we had ever tasted, and was constantly clear. The aspect of this country thus diversified would at all times have been extremely delightful; but in our distressed situation, languishing as we were for the land, and its vegetable productions, an inclination constantly attending every stage of the sea scurvy, it is scarcely credible with what eagerness and transport we viewed the shore, and with how much impatience we longed for the greens and other refreshments which were then in sight, and particularly the water; for of this we had been confined to a very sparing allowance a considerable time, and had then but five ton remaining on board. Those only who have endured a long series of thirst, and who can readily recall the desire and agitation which the ideas alone of

springs and brooks have at that time raised in them, can judge of the emotion with which we eyed a large cascade of the most transparent water, which poured itself from a rock near a hundred feet high into the sea, at a small distance from the ship. Even those amongst the diseased, who were not in the very last stages of the distemper, though they had been long confined to their hammocks; exerted the small remains of strength that were left them, and crawled up to the deck to feast themselves with this reviving prospect. Thus we coasted the shore, fully employed in the contemplation of this enchanting landscape, which still improved upon us the farther we advanced. But at last the night closed upon us before we had satisfied ourselves which was the proper bay to anchor in; and therefore we resolved to keep in soundings all night, (we having then from sixty four to seventy fathoms) and to send our boat next morning to discover the road: however, the current shifted in the night, and set us so near the land, that we were obliged to let go the best bower in fifty six fathom, not half a mile from the shore. At four in the morning the cutter was dispatched with our third lieutenant, to find out the bay we were in search of, who returned again at noon with the boat laden with seals and grass; for though the island abounded with better vegetables, yet the boat's crew, in their short stay, had not met with them; and they well knew, that even grass would prove a dainty, as indeed it was all soon and eagerly devoured. The seals too were considered as fresh provision, but as yet were not much admired, though they grew afterwards into more repute: for what rendered them less valuable at this juncture was, the prodigious quantity of excellent fish which the people on board had taken during the absence of the boat.

The cutter, in this expedition, had discovered the bay where we intended to anchor, which we found was to the westward of our present station; and the next morning the weather proving favourable, we endeavoured to weigh in order to proceed thither; but though on this occasion we mustered all the strength we could, obliging even the sick, who were scarce able to keep on their legs, to assist us; yet the capstan was so weakly manned, that it was near four hours before we hove the cable right up and down; after

which, with our utmost efforts, and with many surges and some purchases we made use of to increase our power, we found ourselves incapable of starting the anchor from the ground. However, at noon, as a fresh gale blew towards the bay, we were induced to set the sails, which fortunately tripped the anchor; and then we steered along the shore, till we came abreast of the point that forms the eastern part of the bay. On the opening of the bay, the wind that had befriended us thus far, shifted, and blew from thence in squalls; but by means of the head-way we had got, we loosed close in, till the anchor brought us up in fifty six fathom. Soon after we had thus got to our new birth, we discovered a sail, which we made no doubt was one of our squadron; and on its nearer approach, we found it to be the Tryal sloop. We immediately sent some of our hands on board her, by whose assistance she was brought to an anchor between us and the land. We soon found that the sloop had not been exempted from the same calamities which we had so severely felt; for her commander Captain Saunders, waiting on the Commodore, informed him, that, out of his small complement, he had buried thirty four of his men, and those that remained were so universally afflicted with the scurvy, that only himself, his lieutenant, and three of his men, were able to stand by the sails. The Tryal came to an anchor within us on the 12th about noon, and we carried our hawfers on board her, in order to moor ourselves nearer in shore; but the wind coming off the land in violent gusts, prevented our mooring in the birth we intended. Indeed our principal attention was employed in business rather of more importance: for we were now extremely occupied in sending on shore materials to raise tents for the reception of the sick, who died apace on board; and doubtless the distemper was considerably augmented by the stench and filthiness in which they lay; for the number of the diseased was so great and so few could be spared from the necessary duty of the sails, to look after them, that it was impossible to avoid a great relaxation in the article of cleanliness, which had rendered the ship extremely loathsome between decks. Notwithstanding our desire of freeing the sick from their hateful situation, and their own extreme impatience to get on shore, we had not hands enough to prepare the tents for their reception before the 16th; but on that and the two

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following days, we sent them all on shore, amounting to an hundred and sixty seven persons, besides twelve or fourteen that died in the boats, on their being exposed to the fresh air. The greatest part of our sick were so infirm, that we were obliged to carry them out of the ship in their hammocks, and to convey them afterwards in the same manner, from the water side to their tents, over a stony beach. This was a work of considerable fatigue to the few who were healthy ; and therefore the Commodore, according to his accustomed humanity, not only assisted with his own labour, but obliged his officers, without distinction, to give their helping hand. The extreme weakness of our sick may, in some measure, be collected from the numbers who died after they had got on shore ; for it had generally been found that the land, and the refreshments it produces, very soon recover most stages of the sea-scurvy ; and we flattered ourselves that those who had not perished on this first exposure to the open air, but had lived to be placed in their tents, would have been speedily restored to their health and vigour : yet to our great mortification, it was near twenty days after their landing, before the mortality was tolerably ceased ; and for the first ten or twelve days, we buried rarely less than six each day, and many of those who survived recovered by very slow and insensible degrees. Indeed those who were well enough at their first getting on shore, to creep out of their tents, and crawl about, were soon relieved, and recovered their health and strength in a very short time ; but in the rest, the disease seemed to have acquired a degree of inveteracy, which was altogether without example.

Having proceeded thus far, and got our sick on shore, I think it necessary, before I enter into any longer detail of our transactions, to give a distinct account of this island of Juan Fernandes, its situation, productions, and all its conveniences. These particulars we were well enabled to be minutely instructed in during our three months stay there : and as it is the only commodious place in those seas, where British cruisers can refresh and recover their men, after their passage round Cape Horn, and where they may remain for some time, without alarming the Spanish coast ; these its advantages will merit a circumstantial description. Indeed Mr. Anson was particularly industrious in direct-

ing the roads and coasts to be surveyed, and other observations to be made, knowing, from his own experience, of how great consequence these materials might prove to any British vessels hereafter employed in those seas. For the uncertainty we were in of its position, and our standing in for the main on the 28th of May, in order to secure a sufficient easting, when we were indeed extremely near it, cost us the lives of between seventy and eighty of our men, by our longer continuance at sea; from which fatal accident we might have been exempted, had we been furnished with such an account of its situation as we could fully have depended on.

The island of Juan Fernandes lies in the latitude of 33° : $40'$ south, and is a hundred and ten leagues distant from the continent of Chili. It is said to have received its name from a Spaniard, who formerly procured a grant of it, and resided there some time, with a view of settling on it, but afterwards abandoned it. On approaching it on its east-side, it appears as represented in the fourteenth plate, where (*a*) is a small island, called Goat Island, to the S. W. of it; (*b*) a rock, called Monkey Key, almost contiguous to it; (*c*) is the east bay; (*d*) Cumberland bay, where we moored, and which, as will be observed, is the best road for shipping; and (*e*) the west bay. The island itself is of an irregular figure, as may be seen by a very exact plan of it in the fifth plate. Its greatest extent is between four and five leagues, and its greatest breadth somewhat short of two leagues. The only safe anchoring at this island is on the north side, where are the three bays mentioned above; but the middlemost, known by the name of Cumberland bay, is the widest and deepest, and in all respects much the best; for the other two, denominated the east and west bays, are scarcely more than good landing places, where boats may conveniently put their casks on shore. A plan of the N. E. side of the island, containing these three bays drawn by a large scale, is in plate the sixteenth, where it appears that Cumberland bay is well secured to the southward, and that it is only exposed from the N. by W. to the E. by S.: and as the northerly winds seldom blow in that climate, and never with any violence, the danger from that quarter is not worth attending to. To distinguish this bay the better at sea, I have added a very

exact view of it in the seventeenth plate, which will enable all future navigators readily to know it.

As the bay last described, or Cumberland bay, is by far the most commodious road in the island, so it is adviseable for all ships to anchor on the western side of this bay, within little more than two cables length of the beach: here they may ride in forty fathom of water, and be, in a great measure, sheltered from a large heavy sea, which comes rolling in whenever an eastern or a western wind blows. It is however expedient in this case to cackle or arm the cables with an iron chain, or good rounding, for five or six fathom from the anchor, to secure them from being rubbed by the foulness of the ground.

I have before observed, that a northerly wind, to which alone this bay is exposed, very rarely blew during our stay here; and as it was then winter, it may be supposed in other seasons to be less frequent. Indeed, in those few instances when it was in that quarter, it did not blow with any great force: but this perhaps might be owing to the high lands on the southward of the bay, which checked its current, and thereby abated its violence; for we had reason to suppose, that a few leagues off it blew with a considerable strength, since it sometimes drove before it a prodigious sea, in which we rode fore castle in. But though the northern winds are never to be apprehended, yet the southern winds, which generally prevail here, frequently blow off the land in violent gusts and squalls, which, however, rarely last longer than two or three minutes. This seems to be owing to the obstruction of the southern gale, by the hills in the neighbourhood of the bay; for the wind being collected by this means, at last forces its passage through the narrow valleys, which like so many funnels, both facilitate its escape, and increase its violence. These frequent and sudden gusts make it difficult for ships to work in with the wind off shore, or to keep a clear hawse when anchored.

The northern part of this island is composed of high craggy hills, many of them inaccessible, though generally covered with trees. The soil of this part is loose and shallow, so that very large trees on the hills soon perish for

want of root, and are then easily overturned ; which occasioned the unfortunate death of one of our sailors, who being upon the hills in search of goats, caught hold of a tree upon a declivity to assist him in his ascent, and this giving way, he immediately rolled down the hill ; and though in his fall he fastened on another tree of considerable bulk, yet that too gave way, and he fell amongst the rocks, and was dashed to pieces. Mr Brett likewise met with an accident, only by resting his back against a tree, near as large about as himself, which stood on a slope ; for the tree giving way, he fell to a considerable distance, tho' without receiving any injury. Our prisoners (whom, as will be related in the sequel, we afterwards brought in here) remarked, that the appearance of the hills, in some part of the island, resembled that of the mountains of Chili, where the gold is found : so that it is not impossible but mines might be discovered here. We observed in some places, several hills of a peculiar sort of red earth, exceeding vermilion in colour, which, perhaps, on examination, might prove useful for many purposes. The southern, or rather the S. W. part of the island, as distinguished in the plan, is widely different from the rest, being dry, stony, and destitute of trees, and very flat and low, compared with the hills on the northern part. This part of the island is never frequented by ships, being surrounded by a steep shore, and having little or no fresh water : and besides, it is exposed to the southerly wind, which generally blows here the whole year round, and on the winter solstice, very hard.

The trees, of which the woods on the northern side of the island are composed, are most of them aromatics, and of many different sorts. There are none of them of a size to yield any considerable timber, except the myrtle trees, which are the largest on the island, and supplied us with all the timber we made use of ; but even these would not work to a greater length than forty feet. The top of the myrtle tree is circular, and appears as uniform and regular as if it had been clipped by art ; it bears on its back an excrescence like moss, which in taste and smell resembles garlic, and was used by our people instead of it. We found here too the plemento tree, and likewise the cabbage tree, though in no great plenty. And besides a great number of plants of various kinds, which we were

not botanists enough either to describe or attend to, we found here almost all the vegetables which are usually esteemed to be particularly adapted to the cure of those scorbutic disorders, which are contracted by salt diet and long voyages. For here we had great quantities of water-creffes and purslain, with excellent wild sorrel, and a vast profusion of turnips and Sicilian raddishes: these two last, having some resemblance to each other, were confounded by our people under the general name of turnips. We usually preferred the tops of the turnips to the roots, which were often stringy, though some of them were free from that exception, and remarkably good. These vegetables, with the fish and flesh we got here, and which I shall more particularly describe hereafter, were not only extremely grateful to our palates, after the long course of salt diet which we had been confined to, but were likewise of the most salutary consequence to our sick, in recovering and invigorating them, and of no mean service to us who were well, in destroying the lurking seeds of the scurvy, from which, perhaps, none of us were totally exempt, and in refreshing and restoring us to our wonted strength and activity.

To the vegetables I have already mentioned, of which we made perpetual use, I must add, that we found many acres of ground covered with oats and clover. There were also some few cabbage trees upon the island, as was observed before; but as they generally grew upon the precipices, and in dangerous situations, and as it was necessary to cut down a large tree for every single cabbage, this was a dainty that we were able but rarely to indulge in.

The excellence of the climate, and the looseness of the soil, render this place extremely proper for all kinds of vegetation; for if the ground be any where accidentally turned up, it is immediately overgrown with turnips and Sicilian raddishes. Mr. Anson therefore, having with him garden seeds of all kinds, and stones of different sorts of fruit, he, for the better accommodation of his countrymen who should hereafter touch here, sowed both lettuces, carrots, and other garden plants, and set in the woods a great variety of plumb, appricot, and peach.

stones; and these last, he has been informed, have since thriven to a very remarkable degree: for some gentlemen, who, in their passage from Lima to Old Spain, were taken and brought to England, having procured leave to wait upon Mr. Anson, to thank him for his generosity and humanity to his prisoners, some of whom were their relations, they, in casual discourse with him about his transaction in the South Seas, particularly asked him if he had not planted a great number of fruit stones on the island of Juan Fernandes; for they told him their late navigators had discovered there numbers of peach trees, and apricot trees, which being fruits before unobserved in that place, they concluded them to have been produced from kernels set by him.

This may in general suffice as to the soil and vegetable productions of this place; but the face of the country, at least of the north part of the island, is so extremely singular, that I cannot avoid giving it a particular consideration. I have already taken notice of the wild inhospitable air with which it first appeared to us, and the gradual improvement of this uncouth landscape as we drew nearer, till we were at last captivated by the numerous beauties we discovered on the shore. And I must now add, that we found, during the time of our residence there; that the inland parts of the island did no ways fall short of the sanguine prepossessions which we first entertained in their favour. For the woods, which covered most of the steepest hills, were free from all bushes and underwood, and afforded an easy passage through every part of them; and the irregularities of the hills and precipices, in the northern part of the island, necessarily traced out by their various combinations, a great number of romantic vallies, most of which had a stream of the clearest water running through them, that tumbled in cascades from rock to rock, as the bottom of the valley, by the course of the neighbouring hills, was at any time broken into a sudden sharp descent: some particular spots occurred in these valleys, where the shade and fragrance of the contiguous woods, the loftiness of the overhanging woods, and the transparency and frequent falls of the neighbouring streams, presented scenes of such elegance and dignity, as would with difficulty be rivalled in any other part

of the globe. It is in this place, perhaps, that the simple productions of unassisted nature may be said to excel all the fictitious descriptions of the most animated imagination. I shall finish this article with a short account of that spot where the Commodore pitched his tent, and which he made choice of for his own residence, though I despair of conveying an adequate idea of its beauty. The piece of ground which he chose was a small lawn, that lay on a little ascent, at the distance of about half a mile from the sea. In the front of his tent, there was a large avenue cut through the woods to the sea side, which, sloping to the water with a gentle descent, opened a prospect of the bay and the ships at anchor. This lawn was screened behind by a tall wood of myrtle sweeping round it, in the form of a theatre, the slope on which the wood stood rising with a much sharper ascent than the lawn itself, though not so much but that the hills and precipices within land towered up considerably above the tops of the trees, and added to the grandeur of the view. There were besides two streams of crystal water which ran on the right and left of the tent, within an hundred yards distance, and were shaded by the trees which skirted the land on either side, and completed the symmetry of the whole. Some faint conceptions of the elegance of this situation, may perhaps be better deduced from the draught of it in the eighteenth plate.

It remains now only that we speak of the animals and provisions which we met with at this place. Former writers have related, that this island abounded with vast numbers of goats; and their accounts are not to be questioned, this place being the usual haunt of the buccaneers and privateers who formerly frequented those seas. And there are two instances, one of a musquito Indian, and the other of Alexander Selkirk a Scotsman, who were left here by their respective ships, and lived alone upon this island for some years, and consequently were no strangers to its produce. Selkirk, who was the last, after a stay of between four and five years, was taken off the place by the Duke and Dutchess privateers of Bristol, as may be seen at large in the journal of their voyage. His manner of life, during his solitude, was in most particulars very remarkable; but there is one circumstance he relates, which

was so strangely verified by our own observation, that I cannot help reciting it. He tells us, among other things, that as he often caught more goats than he wanted, he sometimes marked their ears, and let them go. This was about thirty-two years before our arrival at this island. Now it happened, that the first goat that was killed by our people at their landing, had his ears slit, whence we concluded that he had doubtless been formerly under the power of Selkirk. This was indeed an animal of a most venerable aspect, dignified with an exceeding majestic beard, and with many other symptoms of antiquity. During our stay on the island, we met with others marked in the same manner, all the males being distinguished by an exuberance of beard, and every other characteristic of extreme age.

But the great numbers of goats, which former writers describe to have been found upon this island, are at present very much diminished; as the Spaniards, being informed of the advantages which the buccaneers and privateers drew from the provisions which goats flesh here furnished them with, have endeavoured to extirpate the breed, thereby to deprive their enemies of this relief. For this purpose, they have put on shore great numbers of large dogs, who have increased apace, and have destroyed all the goats in the accessible part of the country; so that there now remain only a few amongst the craggs and precipices, where the dogs cannot follow them. These are divided into separate herds, of twenty or thirty each, which inhabit distinct fastnesses, and never mingle with each other; by this means we found it extremely difficult to kill them; and yet we were so desirous of their flesh, which we all agreed much resembled venison, that we got knowledge, I believe, of all their herds; and it was conceived, by comparing their numbers together, that they scarcely exceeded two hundred upon the whole island. I remember we had once an opportunity of observing a remarkable dispute betwixt a herd of these animals, and a number of dogs; for, going in our boat into the eastern bay, we perceived some dogs running very eagerly upon the foot; and being willing to discover what game they were after, we lay upon our oars some time to view them; and at last saw them take to a hill,

where looking a little further, we observed upon the ridge of it an herd of goats, which seemed drawn up for their reception. There was a very narrow path, skirted on each side by precipices, on which the master of the herd posted himself fronting the enemy, the rest of the goats being all behind him, where the ground was more open: as this spot was inaccessible by any other path, excepting where this champion had placed himself, the dogs, though they ran up hill with great alacrity, yet, when they came within about twenty yards of him, they found they durst not encounter him (for he would infallibly have driven them down the precipice) but gave over the chase, and quietly laid themselves down, panting at a great rate. These dogs, who are masters of all the accessible parts of the island, are of various kinds, some of them very large, and are multiplied to a prodigious degree. They sometimes came down to our habitations at night, and stole our provision; and once or twice they set upon single persons; but, assistance being at hand, they were driven off without doing any mischief. As at present it is rare for goats to fall in their way, we conceived that they lived principally upon young seals; and indeed some of our people had the curiosity to kill dogs sometimes, and dress them, and it seemed to be agreed that they had a fishy taste.

Goats flesh, as I have mentioned, being scarce, we rarely being able to kill above one a-day: and our people growing tired of fish (which, as I shall hereafter observe, abound at this place), they at last condescended to eat seals, which, by degrees, they came to relish, and called it lamb. The seal, numbers of which haunt this island, hath been so often mentioned by former writers, that it is unnecessary to say any thing particular about them in this place. But there is another amphibious creature to be met with here, called a sea lion, that bears some resemblance to a seal, though it is much larger: this too we eat under the denomination of beef: and as it is so extraordinary an animal, I conceive it well merits a particular description. They are in size, when arrived at their full growth, from twelve to twenty feet in length, and from eight to fifteen in circumference. They are extremely fat, so that, after having cut through the skin,

which is about an inch in thickness, there is at least a foot of fat before you can come at either lean or bones; and we experienced more than once, that the fat of some of the largest afforded us a butt of oil. They are likewise very full of blood; for if they are deeply wounded in a dozen places, there will instantly gush out as many fountains of blood, spouting to a considerable distance; and to try what quantity of blood they contained, we shot one first, and then cut its throat, and measuring the blood that came from him, we found that, besides what remained in the vessels, which to be sure was considerable, we got at least two hogheads. Their skins are covered with short hair, of a light dun colour, but their tails and their fins, which serve them for feet on shore, are almost black: their fins or feet are divided at the ends like fingers, the web which joins them not reaching to the extremities, and each of these fingers is furnished with a nail. They have a distant resemblance to an overgrown seal, though in some particulars there is a manifest difference between them, especially in the males: these have a large snout or trunk hanging down five or six inches below the end of the upper jaw, which the females have not, and this renders the countenance of the male and female easy to be distinguished from each other, and besides, the males are of a much larger size. The form and appearance both of the male and female are very exactly represented in the nineteenth plate, only the disproportion of their size is not usually so great as is there exhibited: for the male was drawn from the life, after the largest of these animals which was found upon the island: he was the master of the flock, and from his driving off the other males, and keeping a great number of females to himself, he was by the seamen ludicrously stiled the bashaw. These animals divide their time equally between the land and sea, continuing at sea all the summer, and coming on shore at the setting in of the winter, where they reside during that whole season. In this interval they engender and bring forth their young, and have generally two at a birth, which they suckle with their milk, they being at first about the size of a full grown seal. During the time these sea-lions continue on shore, they feed on the grass and verdure which grows near the banks of the fresh water streams; and when not employed in feeding, sleep in herds

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in the most miry places they can find out. As they seem to be of a very lethargic disposition, and are not easily awakened, each herd was observed to place some of their males at a distance, in the nature of centinels, who never failed to alarm them whenever any one attempted to molest, or even to approach them : and they were very capable of alarming, even at a considerable distance : for the noise they make is very loud, and of different kinds, sometimes grunting like hogs, and at other times snorting like horses in full vigour. They often, especially the males, have furious battles with each other, principally about their females : and we were one day extremely surprised by the sight of two animals, which at first appeared different from all we had ever observed ; but on a nearer approach they proved to be two sea lions, who had been goring each other with their teeth, and were covered over with blood ; and the bashaw before mentioned, who generally lay surrounded with a seraglio of females, which no other male dared to approach, had not acquired that envied pre-eminence without many bloody contests, of which the marks still remained in the numerous scars which were visible in every part of his body. We killed many of them for food, particularly for their hearts and tongues, which we esteemed exceeding good eating, and preferable even to those of bullocks. In general there was no difficulty in killing them ; for they were incapable either of escaping or resisting, as their motion is the most unweildy that can be conceived, their blubber, all the time they are moving, being agitated in large waves, under their skins. However, a sailor one day being carelessly employed in skinning a young sea lion, the female from whence he had taken it, came upon him unperceived, and getting his head in her mouth, she with her teeth scored his skull in notches in many places, and thereby wounded him so desperately, that though all possible care was taken of him, he died in a few days.

These are the principal animals which we found upon the island ; for we saw but few birds, and those chiefly hawks, blackbirds, owls, and humming birds. We saw not the purdella, which burrows in the ground, and which former writers have mentioned to be found here ; but as we often met with their holes, we supposed that the dogs

had destroyed them, as they have almost done the cats; for these were very numerous in Selkirk's time, but we saw not above one or two during our whole stay. However, the rats still keep their ground, and continue here in great numbers, and were very troublesome to us, by infesting our tents nightly.

But that which furnished us with the most delicious repasts at this island remains still to be described: this was the fish with which the whole bay was most plentifully stored, and with the greatest variety: for we found here cod of a prodigious size; and by the report of some of our crew who had been formerly employed in the Newfoundland fishery, not in less plenty than is to be met with on the banks of that island. We caught also cavallies, gropers, large breams, maids, silver-fish, congers of a peculiar kind, above all a black-fish which we most esteemed, called by some a chimney-sweeper, in shape resembling a carp. The beach indeed is every where so full of rocks and loose stones, that there is no possibility of hauling the seyne; but with hooks and lines we caught what numbers we pleased; so that a boat with two or three lines would return loaded with fish in about two or three hours time. The only interruption we ever met with arose from great quantities of dog-fish and large sharks, which sometimes attended our boats, and prevented our sport. Besides the fish we have already mentioned, we found here one delicacy in greater perfection, both as to size, flavour, and quantity, than is perhaps to be met with in any other part of the world; this was sea cray fish: they generally weighed eight or nine pounds a piece, were of a most excellent taste, and lay in such abundance near the water's edge, that the boat-hooks often struck into them in putting the boat to and from the shore.

These are the most material articles relating to the accommodations, soil, vegetables, animals, and other productions of the island of Juan Fernandes; by which it must appear how properly that place was adapted for the recovering us from the deplorable situation to which our tedious and unfortunate navigation round Cape Horn had reduced us. And having thus given the reader some idea of the site and circumstances of this place which was to

be our residence for three months, I shall now proceed, in the next chapter, to relate all that occurred to us in that interval, resuming my narration from the 18th day of June, being the day in which the *Tryal* sloop, having by a squall been driven out to sea three days before, came again to her moorings, the day on which we finished the sending our sick on shore, and about eight days after our first anchoring at this island.

CHAP. II.

The Arrival of the GLOUCESTER and the ANNA PINK at the Island of JUAN FERNANDES, and the Transactions at that Place during this Interval.

THE arrival of the *Tryal* sloop at this island, so soon after we came there ourselves, gave us great hopes of being speedily joined by the rest of the squadron; and we were for some days continually looking out in expectation of their coming in sight. But near a fortnight being elapsed, without any of them having appeared, we began to despair of ever meeting them again, as we knew that, had our ship continued so much longer at sea, we should, every man of us, have perished; and the vessel, occupied by dead bodies only, would have been left to the caprice of the winds and waves: and this we had great reason to fear was the fate of our consorts, as each hour added to the probability of these desponding suggestions.

But, on the 21st of June, some of our people, from an eminence on shore, discerned a ship to leeward, with her courses even with the horizon; and they, at the same time, particularly observed, that she had no sail aboard except her courses and her main top sail. This circumstance made them conclude that it was one of our squadron, which had probably suffered in her sails and rigging as severely as we had done: but they were prevented from forming more definite conjectures about her: for, after viewing her for a short time, the weather grew thick and hazy, and they lost sight of her. On this report, and no ship appearing for some days, we were all under the greatest concern, suspecting that her people were in the utmost

distress for want of water, and so diminished and weakened by sickness, as not to be able to ply to windward; so that we feared, that, after having been in sight of the island, her whole crew would notwithstanding perish at sea. However, on the 26th, towards noon, we discerned a sail in the north east quarter, which we conceived to be the very same ship that had been seen before, and our conjecture proved true; and about one o'clock she approached so near, that we could distinguish her to be the Gloucester. As we had no doubt of her being in great distress, the Commodore immediately ordered his boat to her assistance, laden with fresh water, fish, and vegetables, which was a very seasonable relief to them; for our apprehensions of their calamities appeared to be but too well grounded, as, perhaps, there never was a crew in a more distressed situation. They had already thrown over board two-thirds of their complement, and, of these that remained alive, scarcely any were capable of doing duty, except the officers and their servants. They had been a considerable time at the small allowance of a pint of fresh water to each man for twenty four hours; and yet they had so little left, that, had it not been for the supply we sent them, they must soon have died of thirst. The ship plied in within three miles of the bay; but, the winds and currents being contrary, she could not reach the road. However, she continued in the offing the next day; but, as she had no chance of coming to an anchor, unless the wind and currents shifted, the Commodore repeated his assistance, sending to her the Tryal's boat, manned with the Centurion's people, and a farther supply of water and other refreshments. Captain Mitchell, the captain of the Gloucester, was under a necessity of detaining both this boat and that sent the preceding day; for without the help of their crews, he had no longer strength enough to navigate the ship. In this tantalizing situation the Gloucester continued for near a fortnight, without being able to fetch the road, though frequently attempting it, and at sometimes bidding very fair for it. On the 9th of July, we observed her stretching away to the eastward at a considerable distance, which, we supposed, was with a design to get to the southward of the island; but as we soon lost sight of her, and she did not appear for near a week, we were prodigiously concerned, knowing that she must be again in extreme distress for

want of water. After great impatience about her, we discovered her again on the 16th, endeavouring to come round the eastern point of the island; but the wind still blowing directly from the bay, prevented her getting nearer than within four leagues of the land. On this Captain Mitchell made signals of distress, and our long boat was sent to him with a store of water, and plenty of fish, and other refreshments. And the long boat being not to be spared, the cockswain had positive orders from the Commodore to return again immediately; but the weather proving stormy the next day, and the boat not appearing, we much feared she was lost, which would have proved an irretrievable misfortune to us all: however, the third day after, we were relieved from this anxiety, by the joyful sight of the long-boat's sails upon the water; on which we sent the cutter immediately to her assistance, who towed her along side in a few hours; when we found that the crew of our long boat had taken in six of the Gloucester's sick men to bring them on shore, two of which had died in the boat. We now learned that the Gloucester was in a most dreadful condition, having scarcely a man in health on board, except those they received from us: and numbers of their sick dying daily, it appeared that, had it not been for the last supply sent by our long-boat, both the healthy and diseased must have all perished together for want of water. These calamities were the more terrifying, as they appeared to be without remedy: for the Gloucester had already spent a month in her endeavours to fetch the bay, and she was now no farther advanced than at the first moment she made the island: on the contrary, the people on board her had worn out all their hopes of ever succeeding in it, by the many experiments they had made of its difficulty. Indeed, the same day, her situation grew more desperate than ever; for after she had received our last supply of refreshments, we again lost sight of her; so that we, in general, despaired of her ever coming to an anchor.

Thus was this unhappy vessel bandied about within a few leagues of her intended harbour, whilst the neighbourhood of that place, and of those circumstances which could alone put an end to the calamities they laboured under, served only to aggravate their distress, by torturing them.

with a view of the relief it was not in their power to reach. But she was at last delivered from this dreadful situation, at a time when we least expected it; for, after having lost sight of her for several days, we were pleasingly surpris'd, on the morning of the 23d of July, to see her open the N. W. point of the bay with a flowing sail, when we immediately dispatched what boats we had to her assistance, and, in an hour's time from our first perceiving her, she anchored safe within us in the bay. And now we were more particularly convinced of the importance of the assistance and refreshments we often sent them, and how impossible it would have been for a man of them to have survived, had we given less attention to their wants: for, notwithstanding the water, the greens, and fresh provisions which we supplied them with, and the hands we sent them, to navigate the ship, by which the fatigue of their own people was diminished, their sick relieved, and the mortality abated: notwithstanding this indulgent care of the Commodore, they yet buried above three fourths of their crew, and a very small proportion of the remainder were capable of assisting in the duty of the ship. On their coming to an anchor, our first endeavours were to assist them in mooring, and our next to send their sick on shore; these were now reduced, by deaths, to less than fourscore, of which we expected to lose the greatest part: but whether it was, that those farthest advanced in the distemper were all dead, or that the greens and fresh provisions we had sent on board had prepared those which remained for a more speedy recovery, it happened, contrary to our expectations, that their sick were in general relieved and restored to their strength in a much shorter time than our own had been when we first came to the island, and very few of them died on shore.

I have thus given an account of the principal events relating to the arrival of the Gloucester in one continued narration. I shall only add, that we never were joined by any other of our ships, except our victualler, the Anna pink, who came in about the middle of August, and whose history I shall defer for the present, as it is now high time to return to the account of our own transactions on board and on shore, during the interval of the Gloucester's frequent and ineffectual attempts to reach the island.

Our next employment, after sending our sick on shore from the Centurion, was cleansing our ship, and filling our water. The first of these measures was indispensibly necessary to our future health, as the numbers of sick, and the unavoidable negligence arising from our deplorable situation at sea, had rendered the decks most intolerably loathsome. And the filling our water was a caution that appeared not less essential to our security, as we had reason to apprehend that accidents might intervene, which might oblige us to quit the island at a very short warning; for some appearances we had discovered on shore, upon our first landing, gave us ground to believe that there were Spanish cruisers in those seas, which had left the island but a short time before our arrival, and might possibly return thither again, either for a recruit of water, or in search of us, since we could not doubt but that the sole business they had at sea was to intercept us, and we knew that this island was the likeliest place, in their opinion, to meet with us. The circumstances which gave rise to these reflections (in part of which we were not mistaken, as shall be observed more at large hereafter) were our finding on shore several pieces of earthen jars, made use of in those seas for water, and other liquids, which appeared to be fresh broken; we saw too many heaps of ashes, and near them fish-bones and pieces of fish, besides whole fish scattered here and there, which plainly appeared to have been but a short time out of the water, as they were but just beginning to decay; these were certain indications that there had been ships at this place but a short time before we came there. And as all Spanish merchantmen are instructed to avoid the island, on account of its being the common rendezvous of their enemies, we concluded those who had touched here to be ships of force; and not knowing that Pizarro was returned to Buenos Ayres, and ignorant what strength might have been fitted out at Calloa, we were under some concern for our safety, being in so wretched and enfeebled a condition, that, notwithstanding the rank of our ship, and the sixty guns she carried on board, which would only have aggravated our dishonour, there was scarce a privateer sent to sea that was not an overmatch for us. However, our fears on this head proved imaginary; and we were not exposed to the disgrace which might have been expected to have befallen us,

had we been necessitated (as we must have been, had the enemy appeared) to fight our sixty-gun ship with no more than thirty hands.

Whilst the cleaning our ship, and the filling our water went on, we set up a large copper oven on shore near the sick tents, in which we baked bread every day for the ship's company; for being extremely desirous of recovering our sick as soon as possible, we conceived that new bread, added to their greens and fresh fish, might prove a powerful article in their relief. Indeed we had all imaginable reason to endeavour at the augmenting of our present strength, as every little accident, which, to a full crew, would be insignificant, was extremely alarming in our present helpless situation. Of this we had a troublesome instance on the 30th of June; for at five in the morning we were astonished by a violent gust of wind directly off shore, which instantly parted our small bower cable about ten fathom from the ring of the anchor: the ship at once swung off to the best bower, which happily stood the violence of the jerk, and brought us up with two cables on end in eighty fathom. At this time we had not above a dozen seamen in the ship; and we were apprehensive, if the squall continued, that we should be driven to sea in this wretched condition. However, we sent the boat on shore to bring off all who were capable of acting; and the wind soon abating of its fury, gave us an opportunity of receiving the boat back again with a reinforcement. With this additional strength, we immediately went to work to heave in what remained of the cable, which we suspected had received some damage from the foulness of the ground, before it parted; and agreeable to our conjecture, we found that seven fathom and a half of the outer end had been rubbed and rendered unserviceable. In the afternoon we bent the cable to the spare anchor, and got it over the ship's side; and the next morning, July 1st, being favoured with the wind in gentle breezes, we warped the ship in again, and let go the anchor in forty-one fathom water, the easternmost point now bearing from us E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. the westernmost N. W. by W. and the bay as before S. S. W. a situation in which we remained secure for the future. However, we were much concerned for the loss of our anchor, and swept frequently for it, in hopes to have recovered it; but

the buoy having sunk at the very instant that the cable parted, we were never able to find it.

And now, as we advanced in July, some of our men being tolerably recovered, the strongest of them were put upon cutting down trees, and splitting them into billets; while others, who were too weak for this employ, undertook to carry the billets by one at a time, to the water side; this they performed, some of them with the help of crutches, and others supported by a single stick. We next sent the forge on shore, and employed our smiths, who were but just capable of working, in mending our chain plates, and our other broken and decayed iron-work. We began too the repairs of our rigging; but as we had not junk enough to make spun yarn, we deferred the general over haul, in hopes of the daily arrival of the Gloucester, which we knew had a great quantity of junk on board. However, that we might dispatch as fast as possible in our refitting, we set up a large tent on the beach for the sail-makers, and they were immediately employed in repairing our old sails, and making us new ones. These occupations, with our cleansing and watering the ship, (which was, by this time, pretty well completed) the attendance on our sick, and the frequent relief sent to the Gloucester, were the principal transactions of our infirm crew till the arrival of the Gloucester at an anchor in the bay. And then captain Mitchell, waiting on the Commodore, informed him that he had been forced by the winds, in his last absence, as far as the small island called Mafa-Fuero, lying about twenty two leagues to the westward of Juan Fernandes: and that he endeavoured to send his boat on shore there for water, of which he could observe several streams; but the wind blew so strong upon the shore, and occasioned such a surf, that it was impossible for the boat to land, though the attempt was not altogether useless, for his people returned with a boat load of fish. This island had been represented by former navigators as a barren rock; but captain Mitchell assured the Commodore, that it was almost every where covered with trees and verdure, and was near four miles in length; and added, that it appeared to him far from impossible but some small bay might be found on it, which might afford sufficient shelter for any ship desirous of refreshing there.

As four ships of our Squadron were amissing, this description of the island of Mafa Fuero gave rise to a conjecture, that some of them might possibly have fallen in with that island, and might have mistaken it for the true place of our rendezvous. This suspicion was the more plausible, as we had no draught of either island that could be relied on; and therefore Mr Anson determined to send the Tryal sloop thither as soon as she could be fitted for the sea, in order to examine all its bays and creeks, that we might be satisfied whether any of our missing ships were there or not. For this purpose some of our best hands were sent on board the Tryal the next morning to over-haul and fix her rigging; and our long-boat was employed in completing her water; and whatever stores and necessaries she wanted, were immediately supplied either from the Centurion or the Gloucester. But it was the 4th of August before the Tryal was in readiness to sail, when, having weighed, it soon after fell calm, and the tide set her very near the eastern shore; captain Saunders hung out lights, and fired several guns to acquaint us with his danger; upon which all the boats were sent to his relief, who towed the sloop into the bay; where she anchored until the next morning, and then weighing again, proceeded on her cruise with a fair breeze.

And now, after the Gloucester's arrival, we were employed in earnest in examining and repairing our rigging; but in stripping our fore-mast, we were alarmed by discovering it was sprung just above the partners of the upper deck. The spring was two inches in depth, and twelve in circumference; however, the carpenters, on inspecting it, gave it as their opinion, that fisting it with two leaves of an anchor stock would render it as secure as ever. But, besides this defect in our mast, we had other difficulties in refitting, from the want of cordage and canvas; for though we had taken to sea much greater quantities of both than had ever been done before, yet the continued bad weather we met with had occasioned such a consumption of these stores, that we were driven to great straits: as, after working up all our junk and old shrouds, to make twice laid cordage, we were at last obliged to unlay a cable to work into running rigging: and with all

the canvas and remnants of old sails that could be mustered, we could only make up one complete suit.

Towards the middle of August, our men being indifferently recovered, they were permitted to quit their sick-tents, and to build separate huts for themselves, as it was imagined, that, by living apart, they would be much cleaner, and consequently likely to recover their strength the sooner: but, at the same time, particular orders were given, that, on the firing of a gun from the ship, they should instantly repair to the water side. Their employment on shore was now either the procuring of refreshments, the cutting of wood, or the making of oil from the blubber of the sea-lions. This oil served us for several purposes, as burning in lamps, or mixing with pitch to pay the ships sides, or, when worked up with wood ashes, to supply the use of tallow (of which we had none left) to give the ship boot hose tops. Some of the men too were occupied in salting of cod: for there being two Newfoundland fishermen in the *Centurion*, the Commodore set them about laying in a considerable quantity of salted cod for a sea store, though very little of it was used, as it was afterwards thought to be as productive of the scurvy as any other kind of salt provisions.

I have before mentioned, that we had a copper oven on shore to bake bread for the sick: but it happened that the greatest part of the flour, for the use of the squadron, was embarked on board our victualler, the *Anna pink*: and I should have mentioned, that the *Tryal* sloop, at her arrival, had informed us, that, on the 9th of May, she had fallen in with our victualler not far distant from the continent of Chili, and had kept company with her for four days, when they were parted in a hard gale of wind. This afforded us some room to hope that she was safe, and that she might join us; but all June and July being past, without any news of her, we then gave her over for lost; and, at the end of July, the Commodore ordered all the ships to a short allowance of bread. Nor was it in our bread only that we feared a deficiency: for, since our arrival at this island, we discovered that our former purser had neglected to take on board large quantities of several kinds of provisions, which the Commodore had expressly ordered him to re-

ceive: so that the supposed loss of our victualler was, on all accounts, a mortifying consideration. However, on Sunday the 16th of August about noon, we espied a sail in the northern quarter, and a gun was immediately fired from the Centurion, to call off the people from shore, who readily obeyed the summons, repairing to the beach, where the boats waited to carry them on board. And being now prepared for the reception of this ship in view, whether friend or enemy, we had various speculations about her; at first, many imagined it to be the Tryal sloop returned from her cruise, though, as she drew nearer, this opinion was confuted, by observing she was a vessel with three masts. Then other conjectures were eagerly canvassed, some judging it to be the Severn, others the Pearl, and several affirming that it did not belong to our Squadron. But, about three in the afternoon, our disputes were ended, by an unanimous persuasion that it was our victualler the Anna pink. This ship, though, like the Gloucester, she had fallen into the northward of the island, had yet the good fortune to come to an anchor in the bay at five in the afternoon. Her arrival gave us all the sincerest joy: for each ship's company was immediately restored to their full allowance of bread, and we were now freed from the apprehensions of our provisions falling short before we could reach some amicable port; a calamity which, in these seas is, of all others, the most irretrievable. This was the last ship that joined us: and the dangers she encountered, and the good fortune which she afterwards met with, being matters worthy of a separate narration, I shall refer them, together with a short account of the other missing ships of the Squadron, to the ensuing chapter.

C H A P. III.

A short Narrative of what befel the ANNA PINK before she joined us, with an Account of the loss of the WAGER, and of the putting back of the SEVERN and PEARL, the two remaining Ships of the Squadron.

ON the first appearance of the Anna Pink, it seemed wonderful to us how the crew of a vessel, which came to this rendezvous two months after us, should be

capable of working their ship in the manner they did, with so little appearance of debility and distress : but this difficulty was soon solved, when she came to an anchor : for we then found, that they had been in harbour since the middle of May, which was near a month before we arrived at Juan Fernandes. So that their sufferings (the risk they had run of shipwreck only excepted) were greatly short of what had been undergone by the rest of the squadron. It seems on the 16th of May, they fell in with the land, which was then but four leagues distant, in the latitude of $45^{\circ} : 15'$ south. On the first sight of it they wore ship, and stood to the southward, but their foretop-sail splitting, and the wind being W. S. W. they drove towards the shore ; and the captain, at last, either unable to clear the land, or, as others say, resolved to keep the sea no longer, steered for the coast, with a view of discovering some shelter amongst the many islands which then appeared in sight : and, about four hours after the first view of the land, the pink had the good fortune to come to an anchor, to the eastward of the island of Inchin ; but as they did not run sufficiently near to the east-shore of that island, and had not hands enough to veer away the cable briskly, they were soon driven to the eastward, deepening their water from twenty five fathom to thirty five ; and, still continuing to drive, they, the next day, the 17th of May, let go their sheet anchor. This, though it brought them up for a short time, yet, on the 18th, they drove again, till they came into sixty-five fathom water, and were now within a mile of the land, and expected to be forced on shore every moment, in a place where the coast was so very high and steep too, that there was not the least prospect of saving the ship or cargo : as their boats were very leaky, and there was no appearance of a landing place, the whole crew, consisting of sixteen men and boys, gave themselves over for lost, apprehending, that if any of them, by some extraordinary chance, should get on shore, they would, in all probability, be massacred by the savages on the coast ; for these knowing no other Europeans but Spaniards, it might be expected they would treat all strangers with the same cruelty which they had so often, and so signally, exerted against their Spanish neighbours. Under these terrifying circumstances, the pink drove nearer and nearer to the rocks which formed the shore ; but,

at last, when the crew expected each instant to strike, they perceived a small opening in the land, which raised their hopes; and immediately cutting away their two anchors, they steered for it, and found it to be a small channel betwixt an island and the main, that led them into a most excellent harbour, which, for its security against all winds and swells, and the smoothness of its water, may, perhaps, compare with any in the known world. And this place being scarcely two miles distant from the spot where they deemed their destruction inevitable, the horrors of shipwreck, and of immediate death, which had so long, and so strongly possessed them, vanished almost instantaneously, and gave place to the more joyous ideas of security, refreshment, and repose.

In this harbour, discovered in this almost miraculous manner, the pink came to an anchor in twenty five fathom water, with only a hawser and a small anchor of about three hundred weight. Here she continued for near two months; and here her people, who were many of them ill of the scurvy, were soon restored to perfect health by the fresh provisions, of which they procured good store, and the excellent water with which the adjacent shore abounded. As this place may prove of the greatest importance to future navigators, who may be forced upon this coast by the westerly winds, which are almost perpetual in that part of the world, I shall, before I enter into any farther particulars of the adventures of the pink, give the best account I could collect of this port, its situation, conveniences, and productions.

To facilitate the knowledge of this place to those who may hereafter be desirous of making use of it, there is, in the twentieth plate, a plan both of the harbour itself and of the large bay before it, through which the pink drove. The plan is not perhaps, in all respects, so accurate as might be wished, it being composed from the memorandums and rude sketches of the master and surgeon, who were not I presume the ablest draughtsmen. But as the principal parts were laid down by their estimated distances from each other, in which kind of estimations, it is well known, most sailors are very dexterous, I suppose the errors are not very considerable. Its latitude, which is in-

deed a material point, is not well ascertained, the pink having no observation either the day before she came here, or within a day of her leaving it: but it is supposed that it is not very distant from $45^{\circ} : 30'$ south, and the large extent of the bay before the harbour, renders this uncertainty of less moment. The island of Inchin, lying before the bay, is thought to be one of the islands of Chonos, which are mentioned in the Spanish accounts as spreading all along that coast; and are said, by them, to be inhabited by a barbarous people, famous for their hatred of the Spaniards, and for their cruelties to such of that nation as have fallen into their hands. And it is possible too that the land, on which the harbour itself lies, may be another of those islands, and that the continent may be considerably farther to the eastward. The depths of water in the different parts of the port, and the channels by which it communicates with the bay, are sufficiently marked in the plan; but it must be remembered, that there are two coves in it where ships may conveniently heave down, the water being constantly smooth: and there are several fine runs of excellent fresh water which fall into the harbour, some of them so luckily situated, that the casks may be filled in the long boat with an hose. The most remarkable of these is the stream drawn in the N. E. part of the port. This is a fresh water river, where the pink's people got some few mullets of an excellent flavour; and they were persuaded that, in a proper season, (it being winter when they were there) it abounded with fish. The principal refreshments they met with in this port were greens, as wild cellery, nettle tops, &c. (which, after so long a continuance at sea, they devoured with great eagerness) shell-fish, as cockles and muscles of an extraordinary size and extremely delicious; and good store of geese, shags, and penguins. The climate, though it was the depth of winter, was not remarkably rigorous, nor the trees and the face of the country destitute of verdure; whence in the summer many other species of fresh provision, besides these here enumerated, might doubtless be found there. Notwithstanding the tales of the Spanish historians, in relation to the violence and barbarity of the inhabitants, it doth not appear that their numbers are sufficient to give the least jealousy to any ship of ordinary force, or that their disposition is by any means so mischievous or merciless as hath

hitherto been represented. With all these advantages, this place is so far removed from the Spanish frontier, and so little known to the Spaniards themselves, that there is reason to suppose that, by proper precautions, a ship might continue here undiscovered a long time. It is, moreover, a post of great defence; for, by possessing the island that closes up the harbour, and which is accessible in very few places, a small force might secure this port against all the strength the Spaniards could muster in that part of the world; since this island towards the harbour is steep too, and has six fathom water close to the shore, so that the pink anchored within forty yards of it. Whence it is obvious how impossible it would prove, either to board or cut out any vessel protected by a force posted on shore within pistol shot, and where those who were thus posted could not themselves be attacked. All these circumstances seem to render this port worthy of a more accurate examination; and it is to be hoped, that the important uses which this rude account of it seems to suggest, may hereafter recommend it to the consideration of the public, and to the attention of those who are more immediately entrusted with the conduct of our naval affairs.

After this description of the place where the pink lay for two months, it may be expected that I should relate the discoveries made by the crew on the adjacent coast, and the principal incidents during their stay there; but here I must observe, that being only a few in number, they did not dare to detach any of their people on distant searches; for they were perpetually terrified with the apprehension that they should be attacked either by the Spaniards or the Indians; so that their excursions were generally confined to that track of land which surrounded the port, and where they were never out of view of the ship; though, had they at first known how little foundation there was for these fears, yet the country in the neighbourhood was so overgrown with wood, and traversed with mountains, that it appeared impracticable to penetrate it; whence no account of the inland parts could be expected from them. Indeed they were able to disprove the relations given by Spanish writers, who have represented this coast as inhabited by a fierce and powerful people; for they were certain that no such inhabitants

were there to be found, at least, during the winter season; since all the time they continued there, they saw no more than one Indian family, which came into the harbour in a periagua, about a month after the arrival of the pink, and consisted of an Indian near forty years old, his wife, and two children, one three years of age, and the other still at the breast. They seemed to have with them all their property, which was a dog and a cat, a fishing net, a hatchet, a knife, a cradle, some bark of trees, intended for the covering of a hut, a reel, some worsted, a flint and steel, and a few roots of a yellow hue, and a very disagreeable taste, which served them for bread. The master of the pink, as soon as he perceived them, sent his yawl, who brought them on board; and fearing lest they might discover him, if they were permitted to go away, he took, as he conceived, proper precautions for securing them, but without any mixture of ill usage or violence: for in the day time they were permitted to go where they pleased about the ship, but at night were locked up in the fore-castle. As they were fed in the same manner with the rest of the crew, and were often indulged with brandy, which they seemed greatly to relish, it did not at first appear that they were much dissatisfied with their situation, especially as the master took the Indian on shore when he went a shooting (who always seemed extremely delighted when the master killed his game) and as all the crew treated them with great humanity: but it was soon perceived that though the woman continued easy and chearful, yet the man grew pensive and restless at his confinement. He seemed to be a person of good natural parts; and though not capable of conversing with the pink's people, otherwise than by signs, was yet very curious and inquisitive, and shewed great dexterity in the manner of making himself understood. In particular, seeing so few people on board such a large ship, he let them know, that he supposed they were once more numerous; and, to represent to them what he imagined was become of their companions, he laid himself down on the deck, closing his eyes, and stretching himself out motionless, to imitate the appearance of a dead body. But the strongest proof of his sagacity, was the manner of his getting away: for, after being in custody on board the pink eight days, the scuttle of the fore-castle, where he and his family were locked

up every night, happened to be unnailed, and the following night, being extremely dark and stormy, he contrived to convey his wife and children through the unnailed scuttle, and then over the ship's side into the yawl; and, to prevent being pursued, he cut away the long-boat and his own periagua which were towing a stern, and immediately rowed ashore. All this he conducted with so much diligence and secrecy, that though there was a watch on the quarter deck with loaded arms, yet he was not discovered by them, till the noise of his oars in the water, after he had put off from the ship, gave them notice of his escape; and then it was too late either to prevent him or to pursue him; for their boats being all adrift, it was a considerable time before they could contrive the means of getting on shore themselves to search for their boats. The Indian too, by this effort, besides the recovery of his liberty, was in some sort revenged on those who had confined him, both by the perplexity they were involved in from the loss of their boats, and by the terror he threw them in at his departure; for on the first alarm of the watch, who cried out, The Indians, the whole ship was in the utmost confusion, believing themselves to be boarded by a fleet of armed periaguas.

The resolution and sagacity with which the Indian behaved upon this occasion, had it been exerted on a more extensive object than the retrieving the freedom of a single family, might perhaps have immortalized the exploit, and have given him a rank amongst the illustrious names of antiquity. Indeed his late masters did so much justice to his merit, as to own that it was a most gallant enterprise, and that they were grieved that they had ever been necessitated, by their attention to their own safety, to abridge the liberty of a person, of whose prudence and courage they had now such a distinguished proof. As it was supposed by some of them, that he still continued in the woods in the neighbourhood of the port, where it was feared he might suffer for want of provisions, they easily prevailed upon the master to leave a quantity of such food as they thought would be most agreeable to him, in a particular part where they imagined he would be likely to find it: and there was reason to conjecture that this piece of humanity was not altogether useless to him; for, on visiting the place

Some time after, it was found that the provision was gone, and in a manner that made them conclude it had fallen into his hands.

But however, though many of them were satisfied that this Indian still continued near them, yet others would needs conclude that he was gone to the island of Chiloe, where they feared he would alarm the Spaniards, and would soon return with a force sufficient to surprize the *Pink*. On this occasion the master of the *Pink* was prevailed on to omit firing the evening gun; for it must be remembered (and there is a particular reason hereafter for attending to this circumstance) that the master, from an ostentatious imitation of the practice of men of war, had hitherto fired a gun every evening at the setting of the watch. This, he pretended, was to awe the enemy, if there was any within hearing, and to convince them that the *Pink* was always on her guard; but it being now represented to him that his great security was his concealment, and that the evening gun might possibly discover him, and serve to guide the enemy to him, he was prevailed on to omit it for the future: and his crew being now well refreshed, and their wood and water sufficiently replenished, he, in a few days after the escape of the Indian, put to sea, and had a fortunate passage to the rendezvous at the island of Juan Fernandes, where he arrived on the 16th of August, as hath been already mentioned in the preceding chapter.

This vessel, the *Anna Pink*, was, as I have observed, the last that joined the Commodore at Juan Fernandes. The remaining ships of the squadron were the *Severn*, the *Pearl*, and the *Wager* store ship. The *Severn* and *Pearl* parted company with the squadron off Cape Noir, and, as we afterwards learned, put back to the Brazils. So that of all the ships which came into the South Seas, the *Wager*, Captain Cheap, was the only one that was missing. This ship had on board a few field-pieces, mounted for land-service, together with some cohorn-mortars, and several kinds of artillery stores, and pioneers tools, intended for the operations on shore: therefore as the enterprize on Baldivia had been resolved on for the first undertaking of the squadron, Captain Cheap was extremely solicitous that

these materials which were in his custody might be ready before Baldivia; that if the squadron should possibly rendezvous there, (as he knew not the condition they were then reduced to) no delay nor disappointment might be imputed to him.

But whilst the Wager, with these views, was making the best of her way to her first rendezvous off the island of Socora, whence (as there was little probability of meeting any of the squadron there) she proposed to steer directly for Baldivia; she made the land on the 14th of May, about the latitude of 47° south; and the captain exerting himself on this occasion, in order to get clear of it, he had the misfortune to fall down the after-ladder, and dislocated his shoulder, which rendered him incapable of acting. This accident, together with the crazy condition of the ship, which was little better than a wreck, prevented her from getting off to sea, and entangled her more and more with the land; insomuch, that the next morning at day break she struck on a sunken rock, and soon after bilged, and grounded between two islands, at about a musquet shot from the shore.

In this situation the ship continued entire a long time, so that all the crew had it in their power to get safe on shore; but a general confusion taking place, numbers of them, instead of consulting their safety, or reflecting on their calamitous condition, fell to pillaging the ship, arming themselves with the first weapons that came to hand, and threatening to murder all who should oppose them. This frenzy was greatly heightened by the liquors they found on board, with which they got so extremely drunk, that some of them falling down between decks, were drowned as the water flowed into the wreck, being incapable of raising themselves up and retreating from it. The captain therefore, having done his utmost to get the whole crew on shore, was at last obliged to leave the mutineers behind him, and to follow his officers, and such as he had been able to prevail on; but he did not fail to send back the boats to persuade those who remained to have some regard to their preservation, though all his efforts were for some time without success. However, the weather next day proving stormy, and there being great danger of

the ship's parting, they began to be alarmed with the fears of perishing, and were desirous of getting to land; but it seems their madness had not yet left them; for the boat not appearing to fetch them off so soon as they expected, they at last pointed a four pounder, which was on the quarter deck, against the hut, where they knew the captain resided on shore, and fired two shots, which passed but just over it.

From this specimen of the behaviour of part of the crew, it will not be difficult to frame some conjecture of the disorder and anarchy which took place when they at last got all on shore. For the men conceived, that, by the loss of the ship, the authority of the officers was at an end; and they being now on a desolate coast, where scarcely any other provisions could be got, except what should be saved out of the wreck, this was another insurmountable source of discord; since the working upon the wreck, and the securing the provisions, so that they might be preserved for future exigencies as much as possible, and the taking care, that what was necessary for their present subsistence, might be sparingly and equally distributed, were matters not to be brought about but by discipline and subordination; and the mutinous disposition of the people, stimulated by the impulses of immediate hunger, rendered every regulation made for this purpose ineffectual: so that there were continual concealments, frauds, and thefts, which animated each man against his fellow, and produced infinite feuds and contests. And hence there was a perverse and malevolent disposition constantly kept up amongst them, which rendered them utterly ungovernable.

Besides these heart-burnings, occasioned by petulance and hunger, there was another important point, which set the greatest part of the people at variance with the captain: this was their differing with him in opinion, on the measures to be pursued in the present exigency. For the captain was determined, if possible, to fit up the boats in the best manner he could, and to proceed with them to the northward: since having with him above an hundred men in health, and having gotten some fire arms and ammunition from the wreck, he did not doubt but they could

master any Spanish vessel they should encounter with in those seas; and he thought he could not fail of meeting with one in the neighbourhood of Chiloe or Baldivia, in which, when he had taken her, he intended to proceed to the rendezvous of Juan Fernandes; and he farther insisted, that should they light on no prize by the way, yet the boats alone would easily carry them thither. But this was a scheme, that, however prudent, was nowise relished by the generality of his people; for being quite jaded with the distresses and dangers they had already run through, they could not think of prosecuting an enterprize farther, which had hitherto proved so disastrous. The common resolution therefore was to lengthen the long boat, and with that and the rest of the boats, to steer to the southward, to pass through the straits of Magellan, and to range along the east side of South America, till they should arrive at Brazil, where they doubted not to be well received, and to procure a passage to Great Britain. This project was at first sight infinitely more hazardous and tedious than what was proposed by the captain; but as it had the air of returning home, and flattered them with the hopes of bringing them once more to their native country, that circumstance alone rendered them inattentive to all its inconveniences, and made them adhere to it with unfurmountable obstinacy; so that the captain himself, though he never changed his opinion, was yet obliged to give way to the torrent, and in appearance to acquiesce in this resolution, whilst he endeavoured underhand to give it all the obstruction he could, particularly in the lengthening of the long boat, which he contrived should be of such a size, that though it might serve to carry them to Juan Fernandes, would yet, he hoped, appear incapable of so long a navigation, as that to the coast of Brazil.

But the captain, by his steady opposition at first to this favourite project, had much embittered the people against him; to which likewise the following unhappy accident greatly contributed: There was a midshipman, whose name was Cozens, who had appeared the foremost in all the refractory proceedings of the crew. He had involved himself in brawls with most of the officers who had adhered to the captain's authority, and had even treated the

captain himself with great abuse and insolence. As his turbulence and brutality grew every day more and more intolerable, it was not the least doubted but there was some violent measures in agitation, in which Cozens was engaged as the ringleader ; for which reason the captain, and those about him, constantly kept themselves on their guard. One day the purser having, by the captain's order, stopped the allowance of a fellow who would not work, Cozens, though the man did not complain to him, intermeddled in the affair with great bitterness, and grossly insulted the purser, who was then delivering out provisions just by the captain's tent, and was himself sufficiently violent : the purser, enraged by his scurrility, and perhaps piqued by former quarrels, cried out *A mutiny*, adding, *The dog has pistols*, and then himself fired a pistol at Cozens, which however missed him : but the captain on this outcry, and the report of the pistol, rushed out of his tent, and not doubting but it had been fired by Cozens, as the commencement of a mutiny, he immediately shot him in the head, without farther deliberation ; and though he did not kill him on the spot, yet the wound proved mortal, and he died about fourteen days after.

However, this incident, though sufficiently displeasing to the people, did yet, for a considerable time, awe them to their duty, and rendered them more submissive to the captain's authority ; but, at last, when towards the middle of October the long boat was nearly completed, and they were preparing to put to sea, the additional provocation he gave them, by covertly traversing their project of proceeding through the Straits of Magellan, and their fears that he might, at length, engage a party sufficient to overturn this favourite measure, made them resolve to make use of the death of Cozens as a reason of depriving him of his command, under a pretence of carrying him a prisoner to England to be tried for murder ; and he was accordingly confined under a guard : but they never intended to carry him with them, as they too well knew what they had to apprehend on their return to England, if their commander should be present to confront them : and therefore, when they were just ready to put to sea, they set him at liberty, leaving him, and the few who chose to take their fortunes with him, no other embarkation but

the yawl, to which the barge was afterwards added, by the people on board her being prevailed on to turn back.

When the ship was wrecked, there were alive on board the *Wager* near a hundred and thirty persons; of these, above thirty died during their stay upon the place, and near eighty went off in the long boat and cutter to the southward; so that there remained with the captain, after their departure, no more than nineteen persons, which however were as many as the barge and the yawl, the only embarkations left them, could well carry off. It was the 13th of October, five months after the shipwreck, that the long boat, converted into a schooner, weighed and stood to the southward, giving the captain, who with Lieutenant Hamilton of the land forces, and the surgeon, were then on the beach, three cheers at their departure: and, on the 29th of January following, they arrived at Rio Grande on the coast of Brazil; but having, by various accidents, left about twenty of their people on shore at the different places they touched at, and a greater number having perished by hunger during the course of their navigation, there were no more than thirty of them remaining when they arrived in that port. Indeed, the undertaking, of itself, was a most extraordinary one; for (not to mention the length of the run) the vessel was scarcely able to contain the number that first put to sea in her; and their stock of provisions (being only what they had saved out of the ship) was extremely slender: they had this additional misfortune besides, that the cutter, the only boat they had with them, soon broke away from the stern, and was flaved to pieces; so that, when their provision and their water failed them, they had frequently no means of getting on shore to search for a fresh supply.

After the long boat and cutter were gone, the captain, and those who were left with him, proposed to pass to the northward in the barge and yawl; but the weather was so bad, and the difficulty of subsisting so great, that it was two months from the departure of the long boat before he was able to put to sea. It seems the place where the *Wager* was cast away was not a part of the continent, as was first imagined, but an island at some distance from the main, which afforded no other sorts of provision but

shell-fish and a few herbs; and as the greatest part of what they had gotten from the ship was carried off in the long-boat, the captain and his people were often in extreme want of food, especially as they chose to preserve what little sea provisions remained for their store when they should go to the northward. During their residence at this island, which was by the seamen denominated Wager's Island, they had now and then a straggling canoe or two of Indians, which came and bartered their fish, and other provisions, with our people. This was some little relief to their necessities, and, at another season, might, perhaps, have been greater: for as there were several Indian huts on the shore, it was supposed, that in some years, during the height of summer, many of these savages might resort thither to fish. Indeed, from what has been related in the account of the *Anna Pink*, it should seem to be the general practice of those Indians to frequent this coast in the summer time for the benefit of fishing, and to retire in the winter into a better climate more to the northward.

On this mention of the *Anna Pink*, I cannot but observe, how much it is to be lamented that the *Wager's* people had no knowledge of her being so near them on the coast: for as she was not above thirty leagues distant from them, and came into their neighbourhood about the same time the *Wager* was lost, and was a fine roomy ship, she could easily have taken them all on board, and have carried them to *Juan Fernandes*. Indeed, I suspect she was still nearer to them than what is here estimated; for several of the *Wager's* people, at different times, heard the report of a cannon, which, I conceive, could be no other than the evening gun fired from the *Anna Pink*, especially as what was heard at *Wager's Island* was about the same time of the day. But to return to Captain Cheap:

Upon the 14th of December, the captain, and his people, embarked in the barge and the yawl, in order to proceed to the northward, taking on board with them all the provisions they could amass from the wreck of the ship; but they had scarcely been an hour at sea, when the wind began to blow hard, and the sea ran so high, that they were obliged to throw the greatest part of their provisions

over board, to avoid immediate destruction. This was a terrible misfortune, in a part of the world where food is so difficult to be got: however they persisted in their design, putting on shore as often as they could to seek subsistence; but, about a fortnight after, another dreadful accident befel them, for the yawl sunk at an anchor, and one of the men in her was drowned; and as the barge was incapable of carrying the whole company, they were now reduced to the hard necessity of leaving four marines behind them on that desolate shore. Notwithstanding these disasters, they still kept on their course to the northward, though greatly delayed by the perverseness of the winds, and the frequent interruptions which their search after food occasioned, and constantly struggling with a series of the most sinister events; till, at last, about the end of January, having made three unsuccessful attempts to double a headland, which they supposed to be what the Spaniards called Cape Tres Montes, it was unanimously resolved, finding the difficulties insurmountable, to give over this expedition, and to return again to Wager island, where they got back about the middle of February, quite disheartened and dejected with their reiterated disappointments, and almost perishing with hunger and fatigue.

However, on their return, they had the good luck to meet with several pieces of beef which had been washed out of the wreck, and were swimming in the sea. This was a most seasonable relief to them after the hardships they had endured: and to complete their good fortune, there came, in a short time, two canoes of Indians, amongst whom was a native of Chiloe, who spoke a little Spanish; and the surgeon who was with Captain Cheap, understanding that language, he made a bargain with the Indian, that if he would carry the captain and his people to Chiloe in the barge, he should have her, and all that belonged to her, for his pains. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, the eleven persons, to which the company were now reduced, embarked in the barge on this new expedition; but, after having proceeded for a few days, the captain, and four of his principal officers, being on shore, the six, who, together with an Indian, remained in the barge, put off with her to sea, and did not return again.

By this means there were left on shore, Captain Cheap, Mr. Hamilton, lieutenant of marines, the honourable Mr. Byron, and Mr. Campbell, midshipman, and Mr. Elliot the surgeon. One would have thought that their distresses had, long before this time, been incapable of augmentation; but they found, on reflection, that their present situation was much more dismaying than any thing they had yet gone through, being left on a desolate coast without any provision, or the means of procuring any; for their arms, ammunition, and every conveniency they were masters of, except the tattered habits they had on, were all carried away in the barge.

But when they had sufficiently revolved in their own minds the various circumstances of this unexpected calamity, and were persuaded that they had no relief to hope for, they perceived a canoe at a distance, which proved to be that of the Indian who had undertaken to carry them to Chiloe, he and his family being then on board it. He made no difficulty of coming to them; for, it seems, he had left Captain Cheap and his people a little before to go a fishing, and had, in the mean time, committed them to the care of the other Indian, whom the sailors had carried to sea in the barge. When he came on shore, and found the barge gone, and his companion missing, he was extremely concerned, and could with difficulty be persuaded that the other Indian was not murdered; yet, being at last satisfied with the account that was given him, he still undertook to carry them to the Spanish settlements, and (as the Indians are well skilled in fishing and fowling) to procure them provisions by the way.

About the middle of March, Captain Cheap and the four who were left with him, set out for Chiloe, the Indian having provided a number of canoes, and gotten many of his neighbours together for that purpose. Soon after they embarked, Mr. Elliot the surgeon died, so that there now remained only four of the whole company. At last, after a very complicated passage by land and water, Captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Campbell, arrived, in the beginning of June, at the island of Chiloe, where they were received by the Spaniards with great humanity; but, on account of some quarrel among the Indians, Mr.

Hamilton did not get thither till two months later. Thus was it above a twelve-month from the loss of the *Wager*, before this fatiguing peregrination ended; and not till by a variety of misfortunes the company was diminished from twenty to no more than four, and those too brought so low, that had their distresses continued but a few days longer, in all probability none of them would have survived; for the captain himself was with difficulty recovered; and the rest were so reduced by the severity of the weather, their labour, their want of food, and of all kinds of necessaries, that it was wonderful how they supported themselves so long. After some stay at Chiloe, the Captain and the three that were with him, were sent to Valparaiso, and thence to St. Jago, the capital of Chili, where they continued above a year; but on the advice of a cartel being settled betwixt Great Britain and Spain, Captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Hamilton, were permitted to return to Europe on board a French ship; the other midshipman, Mr Campbell, having changed his religion whilst at St. Jago, chose to go back to Buenos Ayres with Pizarro and his officers, with whom he went afterwards to Spain on board the *Asia*; but having there failed in his endeavours to procure a commission from the court of Spain, he returned to England, and attempted to get reinstated in the British navy. He has since published a narration of his adventures, in which he complains of the injustice that had been done him, and strongly disavows his ever being in the Spanish service: but as the change of his religion, and his offering himself to the court of Spain (though he was not accepted) are matters which, he is conscious, are capable of being incontestibly proved; on these two heads he has been entirely silent. And now, after this account of the accidents which befel the *Anna Pink*, and the catastrophe of the *Wager*, I shall again resume the thread of our own story.

CHAP. IV.

Conclusion of our Proceedings at JUAN FERNANDES, from the Arrival of the ANNA PINK, to our final Departure from thence.

ABOUT a week after the arrival of our victualler, the Tryal sloop, that had been sent to the island of Mafa-Fuero, returned to an anchor at Juan Fernandes, having been round that island without meeting any part of our Squadron. As upon this occasion, the island of Mafa-Fuero was more particularly examined than, I dare say, it had ever been before, or perhaps ever will be again; and as the knowledge of it may, in certain circumstances, be of great consequence hereafter, I think it incumbent on me to insert the accounts given of this place by the officers of the Tryal sloop.

The Spaniards have generally mentioned two islands under the name of Juan Fernandes, styling them the greater and the less; the greater being that island where we anchored, and the less being the island we are now describing, which, because it is more distant from the continent, they have distinguished by the name of Mafa-Fuero. The Tryal sloop found that it bore from the greater Juan Fernandes, W. by S. and was about twenty-two leagues distant. It is a much larger and better spot than has been generally reported; for former writers have represented it as a small barren rock, destitute of wood and water, and altogether inaccessible; whereas our people found it was covered with trees, and that there were several fine falls of water pouring down its sides into the sea: they found too, that there was a place where a ship might come to an anchor on the north side of it, though indeed the anchorage is inconvenient; for the bank extends but a little way, is steep too, and has very deep water upon it; so that you must come to an anchor very near the shore, and there lie exposed to all the winds but a southerly one: and besides the inconvenience of the anchorage, there is also a reef of rocks running off the eastern point of the island, about two miles in length, though there is little

danger to be feared from them, because they are always to be seen by the sea's breaking over them. This place has at present one advantage beyond the island of Juan Fernandes; for it abounds with goats, who, not being accustomed to be disturbed, were nowise shy or apprehensive of danger, till they had been frequently fired at. These animals reside here in great tranquillity, the Spaniards having not thought the island considerable enough to be frequented by their enemies, and have not therefore been solicitous to destroy the provisions upon it; so that no dogs have been hitherto set on shore there. Besides the goats, our people found there vast numbers of seals and sea lions. And upon the whole, they seemed to imagine, that though it was not the most eligible place for a ship to refresh at, yet, in case of necessity, it might afford some sort of shelter, and prove of considerable use, especially to a single ship, which might apprehend meeting with a superior force at Fernandes. The appearance of its N. E. side, and also of its west side, may be seen in the twenty-first and twenty second plates. This may suffice in relation to the island of Maza Fuero.

The latter part of the month of August was spent in unloading the provisions from the *Anna Pink*; when we had the mortification to find, that great quantities of our provisions, as bread, rice, groats, &c. were decayed and unfit for use. This was owing to the water the pink had made by her working and straining in bad weather; for hereby several of her casks had rotted, and her bags were soaked through. And now, as we had no farther occasion for her service, the Commodore, pursuant to his orders from the Board of Admiralty, sent notice to Mr. Gerard her master, that he discharged the *Anna pink* from attending the squadron; and gave him at the same time a certificate specifying how long she had been employed. In consequence of this dismissal, her master was at liberty either to return directly to England, or to make the best of his way to any port where he thought he could take in such a cargo as would answer the interest of his owners. But the master being sensible of the bad condition of the ship, and of her unfitness for any such voyage, wrote the next day an answer to the Commodore's message, acquainting Mr. Anson, that from the great quan-

tity of water the pink had made in her passage round Cape Horn, and since that in the tempestuous weather she had met with on the coast of Chili, he had reason to apprehend that her bottom was very much decayed: he added, that her upper works were rotten abaft; that she was extremely leaky; that her fore beam was broke; and that in his opinion it was impossible to proceed to sea with her before she had been thoroughly refitted: and he therefore requested the Commodore, that the carpenters of the squadron might be directed to survey her, that their judgement of her condition might be known. In compliance with this desire, Mr. Anson immediately ordered the carpenters to take a careful and strict survey of the *Anna Pink*, and to give him a faithful report under their hands, of the condition in which they found her, directing them, at the same time, to proceed herein with such circumspection, that if they should be hereafter called upon, they might be able to make oath of the veracity of their proceedings. Pursuant to these orders, the carpenters immediately set about the examination, and the next day made their report; which was, that the *Pink* had no less than fourteen knees, and twelve beams broken and decayed; that one breast hook was broken, and another rotten; that her water ways were open and decayed; that two standards, and several clamps, were broken, besides others which were rotten; that all her iron work was greatly decayed; that her spunkitting and timbers were very rotten; and that having ripped off part of her sheathing, they found her wales and outside planks extremely defective, and her bows and decks very leaky; and in consequence of these defects and decays they certified, that in their opinion she could not depart from the island without great hazard, unless she was first of all thoroughly refitted.

The thorough refitting of the *Anna Pink*, proposed by the carpenters, was, in our present situation, impossible to be complied with, as all the plank and iron in the squadron was insufficient for that purpose. And now the master, finding his own sentiments confirmed by the opinion of all the carpenters, offered a petition to the Commodore in behalf of his owners, desiring, that since it appeared he was incapable of leaving the island, Mr. Anson

would please to purchase the hull and furniture of the *Pink* for the use of the squadron. Hereupon, the Commodore ordered an inventory to be taken of every particular belonging to the *Pink*, with its just value; and as by this inventory it appeared that there were many stores which would be useful in refitting the other ships, and which were at present very scarce in the squadron, by reason of the great quantities that had been already expended, he agreed with Mr. Gerard to purchase the whole together for L. 300. The *Pink* being thus broken up, Mr. Gerard with the hands belonging to the *Pink*, were sent on board the *Gloucester*, as that ship had buried the greatest number of men in proportion to her complement; but afterwards one or two of them were received on board the *Centurion*, on their own petition, they being extremely averse to sailing in the same ship with their old Master, on account of some particular ill usage they conceived they had suffered from him.

This transaction brought us down to the beginning of September; and our people by this time were so far recovered of the scurvy, that there was little danger of burying any more at present; and therefore I shall now sum up the total of our loss since our departure from England, the better to convey some idea of our past sufferings, and of our present strength. We had buried, on board the *Centurion*, since our leaving *St. Helen's*, two hundred and ninety-two, and had now remaining on board two hundred and fourteen. This will doubtless appear a most extraordinary mortality; but yet on board the *Gloucester* it had been much greater; for out of a much smaller crew than ours they had lost the same number, and had only eighty-two remaining alive. It might be expected, that on board the *Tryal* the slaughter would have been the most terrible, as her decks were almost constantly knee-deep in water; but it happened otherwise, for she escaped more favourably than the rest, since she only buried forty-two, and had now thirty-nine remaining alive. The havoc of this disease had fallen still severer on the invalids and marines than on the sailors; for on board the *Centurion*, out of fifty invalids and seventy-nine marines, there remained only four invalids, including officers, and eleven marines; and on board the *Gloucester* every inva-

lid perished, and out of forty eight marines only two escaped. From this account it appears, that the three ships together departed from England, with nine hundred and sixty one men on board, of whom six hundred and twenty six were dead before this time; so that the whole of our remaining crews, which were now to be distributed amongst three ships, amounted to no more than three hundred and thirty five men and boys; a number greatly insufficient for manning the Centurion alone, and barely capable of navigating all the three with the utmost exertion of their strength and vigour. This prodigious reduction of our men was still more terrifying, as we were hitherto uncertain of the fate of Pizarro's squadron, and had reason to suppose, that some part of it, at least, had got round into those seas. Indeed we were satisfied from our own experience, that they must have suffered greatly in their passage; but then every port in the South Seas was open to them, and the whole power of Chili and Peru would doubtless be united in refreshing and refitting them, and recruiting the numbers they had lost; besides, we had some obscure knowledge of a force to be sent out from Callao: and however contemptible the ships and sailors of this part of the world may have been generally esteemed, it was scarcely possible for any thing bearing the name of a ship of force, to be feebler or less considerable than ourselves. And had there been nothing to be apprehended from the naval power of the Spaniards in this part of the world, yet our enfeebled condition would nevertheless give us the greatest uneasiness, as we were incapable of attempting any of their considerable places; for the risking of twenty men, weak as we then were, was risking the safety of the whole; so that we conceived we should be necessitated to content ourselves with what few prizes we could pick up at sea before we were discovered; after which we should in all probability be obliged to depart with precipitation, and esteem ourselves fortunate to regain our native country, leaving our enemies to triumph on the inconsiderable mischief they had received from a squadron, whose equipment had filled them with such dreadful apprehensions. This was a subject on which we had reason to imagine the Spanish ostentation would remarkably exert itself, though the causes of our disappoint-

ment, and their security, were neither to be sought for in their valour, nor our misconduct.

Such were the desponding reflections which at that time arose on the review and comparison of our remaining strength with our original numbers. Indeed our fears were far from being groundless, or disproportioned to our feeble and almost desperate situation. For though the final event proved more honourable than we had foreboded; yet the intermediate calamities did likewise greatly surpass our most gloomy apprehensions, and could they have been predicted to us at this island of Juan Fernandes, they would doubtless have appeared insurmountable. But to return to our narration:

In the beginning of September, as has been already mentioned, our men were tolerably well recovered; and now the season for navigation, in this climate, drawing near, we exerted ourselves in getting our ships in readiness for the sea. We converted the fore-mast of the victualler into a main mast for the Tryal sloop; and, still flattering ourselves with the possibility of the arrival of some other ships of our squadron, we intended to leave the main mast of the victualler to make a mizen mast for the Wager. Thus, all hands being employed in forwarding our departure, we, on the 8th, about eleven in the morning, espied a sail to the N. E. which continued to approach us, till her courses appeared even with the horizon. Whilst she advanced, we had great hopes she might prove one of our squadron; but as, at length, she steered away to the eastward, without hauling in for the island, we thence concluded she must be a Spaniard. And now great disputes were set on foot about the possibility of her having discovered our tents on shore, some of us strongly insisting, that she had doubtless been near enough to have perceived something that had given her a jealousy of an enemy, which had occasioned her standing to the eastward without haling in: however, leaving these contests to be settled afterwards, it was resolved to pursue her; and the Centurion being in the greatest forwardness, we immediately got all our hands on board, set up our rigging, bent our sails, and by five in the afternoon got under sail. We had at this time very little wind, so that all the boats were

employed to tow us out of the bay ; and even what wind there was, lasted only long enough to give us an offing of two or three leagues, when it flattened to a calm. The night coming on, we lost sight of the chace, and were extremely impatient for the return of day light, in hopes to find that she had been becalmed as well as we ; though I must confess that her greater distance from the land was a reasonable ground for suspecting the contrary, as we indeed found in the morning, to our great mortification ; for though the weather continued perfectly clear, we had no sight of the ship from the mast head. But as we were now satisfied that it was an enemy, and the first we had seen in these seas, we resolved not to give over the search lightly ; and a small breeze springing up from the W. N. W. we got up our top gallant masts and yards, set all the sails, and steered to the south east, in hopes of retrieving our chace, which we imagined to be bound to Valparaiso. We continued on this course all that day and the next ; and then, not getting sight of our chace, we gave over the pursuit, conceiving that by that time she must in all probability have reached her port. Being therefore determined to return to Juan Fernandes, we haled up to the S. W. with that view, having but very little wind till the 12th, when, at three in the morning, there sprung up a fresh gale from the W. S. W. which obliged us to tack and stand to the N. W. At day break we were agreeably surpris'd with the sight of a sail on our weather bow, between four and five leagues distance. We immediately crowded all the sail we could, and stood after her, and soon perceived it not to be the same ship we originally gave chase to. She at first bore down upon us, shewing Spanish colours, and making a signal as to her consort ; but observing that we did not answer her signal, she instantly loosed close to the wind, and stood to the southward. Our people were now all in spirits, and put the ship about with great briskness ; and as the chace appeared to be a large ship, and had mistaken us for her consort, we conceived that she was a man of war, and probably one of Pizarro's squadron. This induced the Commodore to order all the officers cabins to be knocked down and thrown overboard, with several casks of water and provisions which stood between the guns, so that we had soon a clear ship, ready for an engagement. About nine o'clock we had

thick hazy weather, and a shower of rain, during which we lost sight of the chace; and we were apprehensive, if this dark weather should continue, that by going upon the other tack, or by some other artifice, she might escape us: but it clearing up in less than an hour, we found that we had both weathered and for reached upon her considerably, and were then near enough to discover that she was only a merchantman, without so much as a single tire of guns. About half an hour after twelve, being got within a reasonable distance of her, we fired four shot amongst her rigging; on which they lowered their top-sails, and bore down to us, but in very great confusion, their top-gallant sails and stay sails all fluttering in the wind: this was owing to their having let run their sheets and hale-yards just as we fired at them; after which, not a man amongst them had courage enough to venture aloft (for there the shot had passed but just before) to take them in. As soon as the vessel came within hale of us, the Commodore ordered them to bring to under his lee-quarter, and then hoisted out the boat, and sent Mr. Saumarez, his first lieutenant, to take possession of the prize, with directions to send all the prisoners on board the *Centurion*, but first the officers and passengers. When Mr. Saumarez came on board them, they received him at the side, with the strongest tokens of the most abject submission; for they were all of them (especially the passengers, who were twenty five in number) extremely terrified, and under the greatest apprehensions of meeting with very severe and cruel usage; but the lieutenant endeavoured, with great courtesy, to dissipate their fright, assuring them, that their fears were altogether groundless, and that they would find a generous enemy in the Commodore, who was not less remarkable for his lenity and humanity, than for his resolution and courage. The prisoners, who were first sent on board the *Centurion*, informed us, that our prize was called *Neustra Senora del Monte Carmelo*, and was commanded by Don Manuel Zamorra. Her cargo consisted chiefly of sugar, and great quantities of blue cloth, made in the province of Quito, somewhat resembling our English coarse broad-cloths, but inferior to them. They had besides, several bales of coarser sort of cloth, of different colours, somewhat like Colchester bays, called by them, *Pannia da Tierra*, with a few bales of cotton, and some tobacco, which,

though strong, was not ill-flavoured. These were the principal goods on board her; but we found, besides, what was to us much more valuable than the rest of her cargo; this was some trunks of wrought plate, and twenty-three ferons of dollars, each weighing upwards of 200 lb. avoirdupois. The ship's burden was about four hundred and fifty tons; she had fifty-three sailors on board, both whites and blacks; she came from Callao, and had been twenty-seven days at sea before she fell into our hands. She was bound to the port of Valparaiso in the kingdom of Chili, and proposed to have returned from thence loaded with corn and Chili wine, some gold, dried beef, and small cordage, which at Callao, they convert into larger rope. Our prize had been built upwards of thirty years; yet, as they lie in harbour all the winter months, and the climate is favourable, they esteem it no very great age. Her rigging was very indifferent, as were likewise her sails, which were made of cotton. She had only three four pounders, which were altogether unserviceable, their carriages being scarcely able to support them: and there were no small arms on board, except a few pistols belonging to the passengers. The prisoners informed us, that they left Callao in company with other two ships, whom they had parted company with some days before, and that at first they had conceived us to be one of their company; and by the description we gave them of the ship we had chased from Juan Fernandes, they assured us she was of their number; but that the coming in sight of that island was directly repugnant to the merchant's instructions, who had expressly forbid it, as knowing that if the English squadron was in those seas, the island of Fernandes was most probably the place of their rendezvous.

After this short account of the ship and her cargo, it is necessary that I should relate the important intelligence which we met with on board her, partly from the information of the prisoners, and partly from the letters and papers which fell into our hands. We here first learned, with certainty, the force and destination of that squadron which cruised off the Madeiras at our arrival there, and afterwards chased the Pearl in our passage to port St. Julian. This we now knew was a squadron composed of five large Spanish ships, commanded by Admiral Pizarro, and

purposely fitted out to traverse our designs, as hath been already more amply related in the third chapter of the first book. We had at the same time too the satisfaction to find that Pizarro, after his utmost endeavours to gain his passage into these seas, had been forced back again into the river of Plate, with the loss of two of his largest ships; and besides this disappointment of Pizarro, which, considering our great debility, was no unacceptable intelligence, we farther learned, that though an embargo had been laid on all shipping in these seas by the viceroy of Peru, in the month of May preceding, on a supposition that about that time we might arrive upon the coast, yet it now no longer subsisted: for on the account sent over land by Pizarro of his own distresses, part of which they knew we must have encountered, as we were at sea during the same time, and on their having no news of us in eight months after we were known to set sail from St. Catharine's, they were fully satisfied that we were either shipwrecked, or had perished at sea, or at least had been obliged to put back again; as it was conceived impossible for any ships to continue at sea during so long an interval: and therefore, on the application of the merchants, and the firm persuation of our having miscarried, the embargo had been lately taken off.

This last article made us flatter ourselves, that as the enemy were still a stranger to our having got round Cape Horn, and the navigation of these seas was restored, we might meet with some valuable captures, and might thereby indemnify ourselves for the incapacity we were under of attempting any of their considerable settlements on shore. And this much we were certain of, from the information of our prisoners, that whatever our success might be as to the prizes we might light on, we had nothing to fear, weak as we were, from the Spanish force in this part of the world; though we discovered that we had been in most imminent peril from the enemy, when we least apprehended it, and when our other distresses were at the greatest height: for we learned from the letters on board, that Pizarro, in the express he dispatched to the viceroy of Peru, after his return to the river of Plate, had intimated to him, that it was possible some part at least of the English squadron might get round: but that as he was

certain from his own experience, that if they did arrive in those seas, it must be in a very weak and defenceless condition, he advised the viceroy, in order to be secure, at all events, to send what ships of war he had to the southward, where, in all probability, they would intercept us singly, before we had an opportunity of touching at any port for refreshment; in which case, he doubted not but we should prove an easy conquest. The viceroy of Peru approved of this advice: and as he had already fitted out four ships of force from Callao, one of fifty guns, two of forty guns, and one of twenty four guns, which were intended to join Pizarro when he arrived on the coast of Chili; the viceroy now stationed three of these off the port of Concepcion, and one of them at the island of Fernandes, where they continued cruising for us till the 6th of June; and then, not seeing any thing of us, and conceiving it to be impossible that we could have kept the seas so long, they quitted their cruise and returned to Callao, fully persuaded that we had either perished, or at least had been driven back. Now, as the time of their quitting their stations was but a few days before our arrival at the island of Fernandes, it is evident, that had we made that island on our first search for it, without haling in for the main to secure our easting (a circumstance which, at that time, we considered as very unfortunate to us, on account of the numbers which we lost by our longer continuance at sea), had we, I say, made the island on the 28th of May, when we first expected to see it, and were in reality very near it, we had doubtless fallen in with some part of the Spanish squadron; and in the distressed condition we were then in, the meeting with a healthy well provided enemy, was an incident that could not but have been perplexing, and might perhaps have proved fatal, not only to us, but to the Tryal, the Gloucester, and the Anna pink, who separately joined us, and who were each of them less capable than we were of making any considerable resistance. I shall only add, that these Spanish ships, sent out to intercept us, had been greatly shattered by a storm during their cruise; and that, after their arrival at Callao, they had been laid up. And our prisoners assured us, that whenever intelligence was received at Lima of our being in these seas, it would be at least two months before this armament could be again fitted out.

The whole of this intelligence was as favourable as we, in our reduced circumstances, could wish for. And now we were no longer at a loss as to the broken jars, ashes, and fish bones, which we had observed at our first landing at Juan Fernandes, these things being doubtless the reliëts of the cruisers stationed off that port. Having thus satisfied ourselves in the material articles of our inquiry, and having gotten on board the Centurion most of the prisoners and all the silver, we, at eight in the same evening, made sail to the northward, in company with our prize, and at six the next morning, discovered the island of Fernandes, where the following day both we and our prize came to an anchor.

And here I cannot omit one remarkable incident which occurred when the prize and her crew came into the bay, where the rest of the squadron lay. The Spaniards in the Carmelo had been sufficiently informed of the distresses we had gone through, and were greatly surprised that we had ever surmounted them; but when they saw the Tryal sloop at anchor, they were still more astonished, that, after all our fatigues, we had the industry (besides refitting our other ships) to complete such a vessel in so short a time, they taking it for granted that we had built her upon the spot: nor was it without great difficulty they were at last prevailed on to believe, that she came from England with the rest of the squadron; they long insisting, that it was impossible such a bauble could pass round Cape Horn, when the best ships of Spain were obliged to put back.

By the time we arrived at Juan Fernandes, the letters found on board our prize were more minutely examined; and it appearing from them, and from the accounts of our prisoners, that several other merchantmen were bound from Callao to Valparaiso, Mr. Anson dispatched the Tryal sloop, the very next morning, to cruise off the last mentioned port, reinforcing her with ten hands from on board his own ship. Mr. Anson likewise resolved, on the intelligence recited above, to separate the ships under his command, and employ them in distinct cruises, as he thought that by this means we should not only increase our chance for prizes, but that we should likewise run a less risk of alarming the coast, and of being discovered.

And now the spirits of our people being greatly raised, and their despondency dissipated by this earnest of success, they forgot all their past distresses, and resumed their wonted alacrity, and laboured indefatigably in completing our water, receiving our lumber, and in preparing to take our farewell of the island: but as these occupations took us up four or five days with all our industry, the Commodore, in that interval, directed that the guns belonging to the Anna Pink, being four six pounders, four four-pounders, and two swivels, should be mounted on board the Carmelo, our prize: and having sent on board the Gloucester six passengers, and twenty-three seamen, to assist in navigating the ship, he directed Captain Mitchell to leave the island as soon as possible, the service demanding the utmost dispatch, ordering him to proceed to the latitude of five degrees south, and there to cruise off the highland of Paita, at such a distance from shore as should prevent his being discovered. On this station he was to continue till he should be joined by the Commodore, which would be whenever it should be known that the viceroy had fitted out the ships at Callao, or on Mr. Anson's receiving any other intelligence that should make it necessary to unite our strength. These orders being delivered to the captain of the Gloucester, and all our business completed, we, on the Saturday following, being the 19th of September, weighed our anchor, in company with our prize, and got out of the bay, taking our last leave of the island of Juan Fernandes, and steering to the eastward, with an intention of joining the Tryal sloop in her station off Valparaiso.

CHAP. V.

Our Cruise from the Time of our leaving JUAN FERNANDES, to the Taking the Town of PAITA.

ALTHOUGH the Centurion, with her prize the Carmelo, weighed from the bay of Juan Fernandes on the 19th of September, leaving the Gloucester at anchor behind her, yet by the irregularity and fluctuation of the winds in the offing, it was the 22d of the same month, in the evening, before we lost sight of the island;

after which we continued our course to the eastward, in order to reach our station, and to join the *Tryal* off Valparaiso. The next night the weather proved squally, and we split our main top sail, which we handed for the present, but got it repaired, and set it again the next morning. In the evening, a little before sun-set, we saw two sail to the eastward, on which our prize stood directly from us, to avoid giving any suspicion of our being cruisers; whilst we, in the mean time, made ourselves ready for an engagement, and steered, with all our canvas, towards the two ships we had discovered. We soon perceived that one of these, which had the appearance of being a very stout ship, made directly for us, whilst the other kept at a great distance. By seven o'clock we were within pistol shot of the nearest, and had a broad side ready to power into her, the gunners having their matches in their hands, and only waiting for orders to fire; but, as we knew it was now impossible for her to escape us, Mr. Anson, before he permitted us to fire, ordered the Master to hale the ship in Spanish; on which the commanding officer on board her, who proved to be Mr Hughes, lieutenant of the *Tryal*, answered us in English, and informed us, that she was a prize taken by the *Tryal* a few days before, and that the other sail at a distance was the *Tryal* herself disabled in her masts. We were soon after joined by the *Tryal*, and Captain Saunders, her commander, came on board the *Centurion*. He acquainted the Commodore that he had taken this ship the 18th instant; that she was a prime sailer, and had cost him thirty six hours chase before he could come up with her; that, for some time, he gained so little upon her, that he began to despair of taking her; and the Spaniards though alarmed at first with seeing nothing but a cloud of sail in pursuit of them, the *Tryal*'s hull being so low in the water that no part of it appeared, yet knowing the goodness of their ship, and finding how little the *Tryal* neared them, they at length laid aside their fears, and recommending themselves to the blessed virgin for protection, began to think themselves secure. Indeed the success was very near doing honour to their *Ave Marias*; for, altering their course in the night, and shutting up their windows to prevent any of their lights from being seen, they had some chance of escaping; but a small crevice in one of the shutters rendered all their

invocations ineffectual; for through this crevice the people on board the *Tryal* perceived a light, which they chafed till they arrived within gun shot, and then Captain Saunders alarmed them unexpectedly with a broad side, when they flattered themselves they were got out of his reach; however, for some time after, they still kept the same sail abroad, and it was not observed that this first salute had made any impression on them; but just as the *Tryal* was preparing to repeat her broad side, the Spaniards crept from their holes, lowered their sails, and submitted without any opposition. She was one of the largest merchantmen employed in those seas, being about six hundred tons burden, and was called the *Arranzazu*. She was bound from Callao to Valparaiso, and had much the same cargo with the *Carmelo* we had taken before, except that her silver amounted only to about L. 500 Sterling.

But to balance this success, we had the misfortune to find that the *Tryal* had sprung her main mast, and that her main top mast had come by the board; and as we were all of us standing to the eastward the next morning, with a fresh gale at south, she had the additional ill luck to spring her fore mast; so that now she had not a mast left on which she could carry sail. These unhappy incidents were still aggravated by the impossibility we were just then under of assisting her; for the wind blew so hard, and raised such a hollow sea, that we could not venture to hoist out our boat, and consequently could have no communication with her; so that we were obliged to lie to for the greatest part of forty-eight hours, to attend her, as we could have no thought of leaving her to herself in her present unhappy situation. It was no small accumulation to these misfortunes, that we were all the while driving to the leeward of our station, at the very time too, when by our intelligence we had reason to expect several of the enemy's ships would appear upon the coast, who would now gain the port of Valparaiso without obstruction. And I am verily persuaded, that the embarrassment we received from the dismasting of the *Tryal*, and our absence from our intended station, occasioned thereby, deprived us of some very considerable captures.

The weather proving somewhat more moderate on the

27th, we sent our boat for the captain of the *Tryal*, who, when he came on board us, produced an instrument, signed by himself and all his officers, representing, that the sloop, being dismasted, was so very leaky in her hull, that, even in moderate weather, it was necessary to ply the pumps constantly, and that they were then scarcely sufficient to keep her free; so that in the late gale, though they had all been engaged at the pumps by turns, yet the water had increased upon them: and, upon the whole, they apprehended her to be at present so very defective, that if they met with much bad weather, they must all inevitably perish; and therefore, they petitioned the Commodore to take some measures for their future safety. But the refitting of the *Tryal*, and the repairing of her defects, was an undertaking that, in the present conjuncture, greatly exceeded our power; for we had no masts to spare her; we had no stores to complete her rigging; nor had we any port where she might be hove down, and her bottom examined; besides, had a port, and proper requisites for this purpose, been in our possession, yet it would have been extreme imprudence, in so critical a conjuncture, to have loitered away so much time as would have been necessary for these operations. The Commodore, therefore, had no choice left him, but was under a necessity of taking out her people and destroying her; however, as he conceived it expedient to keep up the appearance of our force, he appointed the *Tryal's* prize (which had been often employed by the viceroy of Peru as a man of war) to be a frigate in his Majesty's service, manning her with the *Tryal's* crew, and giving commissions to the captain and all the inferior officers accordingly. This new frigate, when in the Spanish service, had mounted thirty two guns; but she was now to have only twenty, which were the twelve that were on board the *Tryal*, and eight that had belonged to the *Anna Pink*. When this affair was thus resolved on, Mr. Anson gave orders to Captain Saunders to put it in execution, directing him to take out of the sloop the arms, stores, ammunition, and every thing that could be of use to the other ships, and then to scuttle her and sink her. After Captain Saunders had seen her destroyed, he was to proceed with his new frigate (to be called the *Tryal's* Prize) and to cruise off the high land of Valparaiso, keeping it from him N. N. W. at the distance of twelve or

fourteen leagues : for as all ships bound from Valparaíso to the northward steer that course, Mr. Anson proposed, by this means, to stop any intelligence that might be dispatched to Calloa, of two of their ships being missing, which might give them apprehensions of the English squadron being in their neighbourhood. The *Tryal's* prize was to continue on this station twenty four days, and if not joined by the Commodore at the expiration of that term, she was then to proceed down the coast of Pisco or Nasca, where she would be certain to meet with Mr. Anson. The Commodore likewise ordered Lieutenant Saumarez, who commanded the *Centurion's* prize, to keep company with Captain Saunders, both to assist him in unloading the sloop, and also, that by spreading in their cruise, there might be less danger of any of the enemy's ships slipping by unobserved. These orders being dispatched, the *Centurion* parted from the other vessels at eleven in the evening, on the 27th of September, directing her course to the southward, with a view of cruising for some days to the wind-ward of Valparaíso.

And now, by this distribution of our ships, we flattered ourselves that we had taken all the advantages of the enemy that we possibly could with our small force, since our disposition was doubtless the most prudent that could be projected. For as we might suppose the *Gloucester*, by this time, to be drawing near the high land of Paito, we were enabled, by our separate stations, to intercept all vessels employed either betwixt Peru and Chili to the southward, or betwixt Panama and Peru to the northward; since the principal trade from Peru to Chili, being carried on to the port of Valparaíso, the *Centurion*, cruising to the wind-ward of Valparaíso, would in all probability meet with them, as it is the constant practice of those ships to fall in with the coast to the wind ward of that port : the *Gloucester* would, in like manner, be in the way of the trade bound from Panama, or to the northward, to any part of Peru; since the high land off which she was stationed, is constantly made by every ship in that voyage. And whilst the *Centurion* and *Gloucester* were thus situated for interrupting the enemy's trade, the *Tryal's* prize, and *Centurion's* prize, were as conveniently posted for preventing all intelligence, by intercepting all ships bound

from Valparaíso to the northward; for it was on board these vessels that it was to be feared some account of us might possibly be sent to Peru.

But the most prudent dispositions carry with them only a probability of success, and can never ensure its certainty; since those chances which it was reasonable to overlook in deliberation, are sometimes of most powerful influence in execution. Thus, in the present case, the distress of the *Tryal*, and the quitting our station to assist her (events which no degree of prudence could either foresee or obviate) gave an opportunity to all the ships bound to Valparaíso, to reach that port without molestation, during this unlucky interval. So that, though after leaving Captain Saunders, we were very expeditious in regaining our station, where we got the 29th at noon, yet, in plying on and off till the 6th of October, we had not the good fortune to discover a sail of any sort: and then, having lost all hopes of meeting with better fortune by a longer stay, we made sail to the leeward of the port, in order to join our prizes; but when we arrived off the high land, where they were directed to cruise, we did not find them, though we continued there four or five days. We supposed that some chace had occasioned their leaving their station, and therefore we proceeded down the coast to the high land of Nasca, which was the second rendezvous, where Captain Saunders was directed to join us. Here we got on the 21st, and were in great expectation of falling in with some of the enemy's vessels, as both the accounts of former voyages, and the information of our prisoners, assured us, that all ships bound to Callao constantly make this land, to prevent the danger of running to the leeward of the port. But notwithstanding the advantages of this station, we saw no sail till the 2d of November, when two ships appeared in sight together; we immediately gave them chace, and soon perceived that they were the *Tryal's* and the *Centurion's* prizes. As they had the wind of us, we brought to and waited their coming up; when Captain Saunders came on board us, and acquainted the Commodore that he had cleared the *Tryal* pursuant to his orders, and having scuttled her, he remained by her till she sunk, but that it was the 4th of October before this was effected; for there ran so large

and hollow a sea, that the sloop having neither masts nor sails to steady her, rolled and pitched so violently, that it was impossible for a boat to lie along side of her for the greatest part of the time; and during this attendance on the sloop, they were all driven so far to the north west, that they were afterwards obliged to stretch a long way to the west ward to regain the ground they had lost, which was the reason that we had not met with them on their station as we expected. We found they had not been more fortunate on their cruise than we were, for they had seen no vessel since they separated from us. The little success we all had, and our certainty, that had any ships been stirring in these seas, for some time past, we must have met with them, made us believe, that the enemy at Valparaiso, on the missing of the two ships we had taken, had suspected us to be in the neighbourhood, and had consequently laid an embargo on all the trade in the southern parts. We likewise apprehended that they might by this time be fitting out the men of war at Callao; as we knew that it was no uncommon thing for an express from Valparaiso to reach Lima in twenty nine or thirty days, and it was now more than fifty since we had taken our first prize. These apprehensions of an embargo along the coast, and of the equipment of the Spanish squadron at Callao, determined the Commodore to hasten down to the leeward of Callao, and to join Captain Mitchell (who was stationed off Païta) as soon as possible, that our strength being united, we might be prepared to give the ships from Callao a warm reception, if they dared to put to sea. With this view we bore away the same afternoon, taking particular care to keep at such a distance from the shore, that there might be no danger of our being discovered from thence; for we knew that all the country ships were commanded, under the severest penalty, not to sail by the port of Callao without stopping; and as this order was constantly complied with, we should undoubtedly be known for enemies, if we were seen to act contrary to it. In this new navigation, not being certain whether we might not meet the Spanish squadron in our route, the Commodore took on board the *Centurion* part of his crew, with which he had formerly manned the *Carmelo*. And now standing to the north ward, we, before night came on, had a view of the small island, called *St. Gallan*,

which bore from us N. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. about seven leagues distant. This island lies in the latitude of about fourteen degrees south, and about five miles to the northward of a high land called Morro Veijo, or, The Old Man's Head. I mention this island and the high land near it, more particularly, because between them is the most eligible station on that coast for cruising upon the enemy; as hereabouts all ships bound to Callao, whether from the northward or southward, run well in with the land. By the 5th of November, at three in the afternoon, we were advanced within view of the high land of Barranca, lying in the latitude of $10^{\circ} : 36'$ south, bearing from us N. E. by E. distant eight or nine leagues; and an hour and an half afterwards, we had the satisfaction so long wished for, of seeing a sail. She first appeared to leeward, and we all immediately gave her chase; but the Centurion so much out sailed the two prizes, that we soon ran them out of sight, and gained considerably on the chase: however, night coming on before we came up with her, we about seven o'clock lost sight of her, and were in some perplexity what course to steer; but at last Mr. Anson resolved, as we were then before the wind, to keep all his sails set, and not to change his course; for though we had no doubt but the chase would alter her course in the night, yet, as it was uncertain what tack she would go upon, it was thought prudent to keep on our course, as we must by this means unavoidably come near her, rather than to change it on conjecture; when, if we should mistake, we must infallibly lose her. Thus then we continued the chase about an hour and an half in the dark, some one or other on board us constantly imagining they discerned her sails right a-head of us; but at length Mr. Brett, our second lieutenant, did really discover her about four points on the larboard bow, steering off to the sea ward: we immediately clapped the helm a weather, and stood for her: and in less than an hour came up with her, and having fired fourteen shot at her, she struck. Our third lieutenant, Mr. Dennis, was sent in the boat with sixteen men, to take possession of the prize, and to return the prisoners to our ship. This vessel was named the Santa Teresa de Jesus, built at Guayaquil, of about three hundred tons burden, and was commanded by Bartolome Urrunaga, a Biscayer; she was bound from Guayaquil to Callao;

her loading consisted of timber, cocoa, cocoa nuts, tobacco, hides, Pito thread, (which is very strong, and is made of a species of grass) Quito cloth, wax, &c. The specie on board her was inconsiderable, being principally small silver money, and not amounting to more than £. 170, Sterling. It is true, her cargo was of great value, could we have disposed of it; but the Spaniards having strick orders never to ransom their ships, all the goods that we took in these seas, except what little we had occasion for ourselves, were of no advantage to us. Indeed, though we could make no profit thereby ourselves, it was some satisfaction to us to consider, that it was so much really lost to the enemy, and that the despoiling them, was no contemptible branch of that service in which we were now employed by our country.

Besides our prize's crew, which amounted to forty five hands, there were on board her ten passengers, consisting of four men and three women, who were natives of the country, born of Spanish parents, together with three black slaves that attended them. The women were a mother and her two daughters, the eldest about twenty one, and the youngest about fourteen. It is not to be wondered at, that women of these years should be excessively alarmed at the falling into the hands of an enemy, whom, from the former outrages of the buccaneers, and by the artful insinuations of their priests, they had been taught to consider as the most terrible and brutal of all mankind. These apprehensions, too, were, in the present instance, exaggerated by the singular beauty of the youngest of the women, and the riotous disposition which they might well expect to find in a set of sailors who had not seen a woman for near a twelvemonth. Full of these terrors, the women all hid themselves upon our officer's coming on board, and when they were found out, it was with great difficulty that he could persuade them to approach the light; however, he soon satisfied them, by the humanity of his conduct, and by his assurances of their future security and honourable treatment, that they had nothing to fear. Nor were these assurances of the officer invalidated in the sequel; for the Commodore being informed of the matter, sent directions that they should be continued on board their own ship, with the use of the same apartments, and with all the other

conveniences they had enjoyed before, giving strict orders that they should receive no kind of inquietude or molestation whatever. And that they might be the more certain of having these orders complied with, or have the means of complaining if they were not, the Commodore permitted the pilot, who, in Spanish ships, is generally the second person on board, to stay with them as their guardian and protector. The pilot was particularly chosen for this purpose by Mr. Anson, as he seemed to be extremely interested in all that concerned the women, and had at first declared that he was married to the youngest of them; though it afterwards appeared, both from the information of the rest of the prisoners, and other circumstances, that he asserted this with a view the better to secure them from the insults they expected on their first falling into our hands. By this compassionate and indulgent behaviour of the Commodore, the consternation of our female prisoners entirely subsided, and they continued easy and cheerful during the whole time they were with us, as I shall have occasion to mention more particularly hereafter.

I have before observed, that, at the beginning of this chase, the Centurion ran her two consorts out of sight, on which account, we lay by all night, after we had taken the prize, for Captain Saunders and Lieutenant Saumarez to join us, firing guns, and making false fires every half hour, to prevent their passing by us unobserved; but they were so far a stern, that they neither heard nor saw any of our signals, and were not able to come up with us till broad day-light. When they had joined us, we proceeded together to the northward, being now four sail in company. We here found the sea, for many miles round us, of a beautiful red colour. This, upon examination, we imputed to an immense quantity of spawn spread upon its surface; for taking up some of the water in a wine glass, it soon changed from a dirty aspect to a clear crystal, with only some red globules of a slimy nature floating on the top. At present having a supply of timber on board our new prize, the Commodore ordered our boats to be repaired, and a swivel gun stock to be fixed in the bow both of the barge and pinnace, in order to increase their force, in case we should be obliged to have recourse to them for boarding ships, or for any attempts on shore.

As we stood from hence to the northward, nothing remarkable occurred for two or three days, though we spread our ships in such a manner, that it was not probable any vessel of the enemy could escape us. In our run along this coast, we generally observed, that there was a current which set us to the northward, at the rate of ten or twelve miles each day. And now being in about eight degrees of south latitude, we began to be attended with vast numbers of flying fish and bonitos, which were the first we saw after our departure from the coast of Brazil. But it is remarkable, that on the east side of South America, they extended to a much higher latitude than they do on the west-side; for we did not lose them on the coast of Brazil till we approached the southern tropic. The reason for this diversity is doubtless the different degrees of heat obtaining in the same latitude on different sides of that continent. And on this occasion, I must beg leave to make a short digression on the heat and cold of different climates, and on the varieties which occur in the same place in different parts of the year, and in different places in the same degree of latitude.

The ancients conceived, that of the five zones, into which they divided the surface of the globe, two only were habitable, supposing that the heat between the tropics, and the cold within the polar circles, were too intense to be supported by mankind. The falsehood of this reasoning has been long evinced; but the particular comparisons of the heat and cold of these various climates has as yet been very imperfectly considered: however, enough is known safely to determine this position, that all places between the tropics are far from being the hottest on the globe, as many of those within the polar circles are far from enduring that extreme degree of cold to which their situation should seem to subject them; that is to say, that the temperature of a place depends much more upon other circumstances, than upon its distance from the pole, or its proximity to the equinoctial.

This proposition relates to the general temperature of places, taking the whole year round; and in this sense it cannot be denied that the city of London, for instance, en-

joys much warmer seasons than the bottom of Hudson's Bay, which is nearly in the same latitude with it; but, where the severity of the winter is so great, that it will scarcely permit the hardiest of our garden plants to live. And if the comparison be made between the coast of Brazil and the western shore of South America, as, for example, betwixt Bahia and Lima, the difference will be still more considerable; for though the coast of Brazil is extremely sultry, yet the coast of the South Seas in the same latitude is perhaps as temperate and tolerable as any part of the globe; since in ranging along it we did not once meet with so warm weather as is frequent in a summer's day in England; which was still the more remarkable, as there never fell any rains to refresh and cool the air.

The causes of this temperature in the South Seas are not difficult to be assigned, and shall be hereafter mentioned. I am now only solicitous to establish the truth of this assertion, that the latitude of a place alone is no rule whereby to judge of the degree of heat and cold which obtains there. Perhaps this position might be more briefly confirmed, by observing, that, on the tops of the Andes, though under the equinoctial, the snow never melts the whole year round; a criterion of cold stronger than what is known to take place in many parts far removed within the polar circle.

I have hitherto considered the temperature of the air all the year through, and the gross estimations of heat and cold which every one makes from his own sensation. If this matter be examined by means of thermometers, which, in respect to the absolute degree of heat and cold, are doubtless the most unerring evidences; if this be done, the result will be indeed most wonderful; since it will hence appear, that the heat in very high latitudes, as at Petersburg, for instance, is at particular times much greater than any that has been hitherto observed between the tropics; and that even at London, in the year 1746, there was the part of one day considerably hotter than what was at any time felt by a ship of Mr. Anson's Squadron, in running from hence to Cape Horn and back again, and passing twice under the sun; for in the summer of that

year, the thermometer in London (being one of those graduated according to the method of Fahrenheit) stood once at 78° ; and the greatest height at which a thermometer of the same kind stood in the foregoing ship, I find to be 76° : this was at St. Catharine's, in the latter end of December, when the sun was within about three degrees of the vertex. And as to Petersburg, I find, by the acts of the academy established there, that in the year 1734, on the 20 and the 25th of July, the thermometer rose to 98° in the shade, that is, it was twenty two divisions higher than it was found to be at St. Catharine's; which is a degree of heat, that, were it not authorised by the regularity and circumspection with which the observation seems to have been made, would appear altogether incredible.

If it should be asked, how it comes to pass then, that the heat, in many places between the tropics, is esteemed so violent and insufferable, when it appears, by these instances, that it is sometimes rivalled or exceeded in very high latitudes, not far from the polar circle? I should answer, that the estimation of heat in any particular place, ought not to be founded upon that degree of heat which may now and then obtain there, but is rather to be deduced from the medium observed in a whole season, or perhaps, in a whole year: and in this light, it will easily appear how much more intense the same degree of heat may prove, by being long continued without remarkable variation. For instance in comparing together St. Catharine's and Petersburg, we will suppose the summer heat at St. Catharine's to be 76° , and the winter heat to be twenty divisions short of it: I do not make use of this last conjecture upon sufficient observation; but I am apt to suspect that the allowance is full large. Upon this supposition then, the medium heat all the year round will be 66° , and this perhaps, by night as well as day, with no great variation. Now those who have attended to thermometers will readily own, that a continuation of this degree of heat for a length of time would, by the generality of mankind, be styled violent and suffocating. But at Petersburg, though a few times in the year, the heat, by the thermometer, may be considerably greater than at St. Catharine's; yet, as at other times, the cold is immensely sharper, the medium for a year, or even for one season on-

ly, would be far short of 66° . For I find that the thermometer at Petersburg is at least five times greater, from its highest to its lowest point, than what I have supposed to take place at St. Catharine's.

Besides this estimation of the heat of a place, by taking the medium for a considerable time together, there is another circumstance which will still augment the apparent heat of the warmer climates, and diminish that of the colder, though I do not remember to have seen it remarked in any author. To explain myself more distinctly upon this head, I must observe, that the measure of absolute heat, marked by the thermometer, is not the certain criterion of the sensation of heat with which human bodies are affected: for, as the presence and perpetual succession of fresh air is necessary to our respiration, so there is a species of tainted or stagnated air often produced by the continuance of great heats, which being less proper for respiration, never fails to excite in us an idea of fultriness and suffocating warmth, much beyond what the heat of the air alone, supposing it pure and agitated, would occasion. Hence it follows, that the mere inspection of the thermometer will never determine the heat which the human body feels from this cause: and hence it follows too, that the heat in moist places between the tropics, must be much more troublesome and uneasy, than the same degree of absolute heat in a high latitude: for the equability and duration of the tropical heat contribute to impregnate the air with a multitude of steams and vapours from the soil and water; and these being, many of them, of an impure and noxious kind, and being not easily removed, by reason of the regularity of the winds in those parts, which only shift the exhalations from place to place without dispersing them, the atmosphere is, by this means, rendered less capable of supporting the animal functions, and mankind are consequently affected with what they style a most intense and stifling heat: whereas, in the higher latitudes, these vapours are probably raised in smaller quantities, and the irregularity and violence of the winds frequently disperse them; so that the air being in general pure, and less stagnant, the same degree of absolute heat is not attended with that uneasy and suffocating sensation. This may suffice, in general, with respect to

the present speculation : but I cannot help wishing, as it is a subject in which mankind, especially travellers of all sorts, are very much interested, that it were more thoroughly and accurately examined, and that all ships bound to the warmer climates, would furnish themselves with thermometers of a known fabric, and would observe them daily, and register their observations : for considering the turn to philosophical inquiries, which has obtained in Europe for the last fourscore years, it is incredible how very rarely any thing of this kind hath been attended to. As to my own part. I do not recollect that I have ever seen any observations of the heat and cold, either in the East or West Indies, which were made by mariners or officers of vessels, except those made by Mr. Anson's order, on board the *Centurion*, and by Captain Legg, on board the *Severn*, which was another ship of our squadron.

This digression I have been, in some measure, drawn into, by the consideration of the fine weather we met with on the coast of Peru, even under the equinoctial itself : but the particularities of this weather I have not yet described : I shall now therefore add, that, in this climate, every circumstance concurred that could make the open air and the day light desirable. For, in other countries, the scorching heat of the sun, in summer, renders the greater part of the day unapt either for labour or amusement ; and the frequent rains are not less troublesome in the more temperate parts of the year. But in this happy climate the sun rarely appears ; not that the heavens have, at any time, a dark and gloomy look, for there is constantly a cheerful grey sky, just sufficient to screen the sun, and to mitigate the violence of its perpendicular rays, without obscuring the air, or tinging the day light with an unpleasant or melancholy hue. By this means all parts of the day are proper for labour or exercise abroad ; nor is there wanting that refreshment and pleasing refrigeration of the air which is sometimes produced in other climates by rains : for here the same effect is brought about by the fresh breezes from the cooler regions to the southward. It is reasonable to suppose, that this fortunate complexion of the heavens is principally owing to the neighbourhood of those vast hills called the *Andes*, which running nearly parallel to the shore, and at a small dis-

tance from it, and extending themselves immensely higher than any other mountains upon the globe, form upon their sides and declivities a prodigious tract of country, where, according to the different approaches to the summit, all kinds of climates may, at all seasons of the year, be found. These mountains, by intercepting great part of the eastern winds, which generally blow over the continent of South America, and by cooling that part of the air which forces its way over their tops, and by keeping, besides, a large portion of the atmosphere perpetually cool, from its contiguity to the snows with which they are covered; these hills, thus spreading the influence of their frozen crests to the neighbouring coasts and seas of Peru, are doubtless the cause of the temperature and equability which constantly prevail there. For when we were advanced beyond the equinoctial, where these mountains left us, and had nothing to screen us to the eastward, but the high lands on the isthmus of Panama, which are but mole-hills to the Andes, we then soon found, that, in a short run, we had totally changed our climate, passing in two or three days, from the temperate air of Peru, to the sultry burning atmosphere of the West Indies. But it is time to return to our narration.

On the 10th of November, we were three leagues south of the southermost island of Lobos, lying in the latitude of $6^{\circ} : 27'$ south. There are two islands of this name; this called Lobos de la Mar, and another which is situated to the northward of it, very much resembling it in shape and appearance, and often mistaken for it, called Lobos de Tierra. We were now drawing near to the station appointed to the Gloucester; for which reason, fearing to miss her, we made an easy sail all night. The next morning, at day break, we saw a ship in shore, and to windward, plying up the coast. She had passed by us with the favour of the night, and we soon perceived her not to be the Gloucester, got our tacks on board and gave her chase; but it proving very little wind, so that neither of us could make much way, the Commodore ordered the barge, his pinnace, and the Tryal's pinnace, to be manned and armed, and to pursue the chase, and board her. Lieutenant Brett, who commanded the barge, came up with her first, about nine o'clock, and, running along side of her, he fir-

ed a volley of small shot between the masts just over the heads of the people on board, and then instantly entered with the greatest part of his men; but the enemy made no resistance, being sufficiently frightened with the volley and dazzling of the cutlasses. Lieutenant Brett ordered the sails to be trimmed, and bore down to us, taking up, in his way, the two pinnaces. When he was got within four miles of us, he put off in the barge, bringing with him a number of the prisoners, who had given him some material intelligence, which he was desirous the Commodore should be acquainted with as soon as possible. On his arrival we learned, the prize was called *Neustra Senora del Carmin*, of 270 tons burden, commanded by Marcos Moreno, a native of Venice, and had on board 43 mariners: she was laden with steel, iron, wax, pepper, cedar plank, snuff, rosarios, European bale goods, powder-blue, cinnamon, Romish indulgences, and other species of merchandise: and though this cargo, in our present circumstances, was but of little value to us, yet, with respect to the Spaniards, it was the most considerable capture we had made in this part of the world; for it amounted to upwards of 400,000 dollars prime cost at Panama. This ship was bound to Callao, and had stopped at Paita in her passage, to take in a recruit of water and provisions, having left that place not above twenty four hours before she fell into our hands.

I have mentioned, that Mr. Brett had received some important intelligence, which he endeavoured to let the Commodore know immediately. The first person he learned it from (though upon further examination, it was confirmed by the other prisoners) was one John Williams, an Irishman, whom he found on board the Spanish vessel. Williams was a Papist, who worked his passage from Cadiz, and had travelled over all the kingdom of Mexico as a pedlar. He pretended, that, by his business, he had once got 4 or 5000 dollars; but that he was embarrassed by the priests, who knew he had money, and was at last stripped of every thing he had. He was indeed at present all in rags, being but just got out of Paita goal, where he had been confined for some misdemeanour: he expressed great joy upon seeing his countrymen, and immediately told them, that a few days before, a vessel came in.

to Paita, where the master informed the governor, that he had been chased in the offing by a very large ship, which from her size, and the colour of her sails, he was persuaded must be one of the English Squadron; this we then conjectured to have been the Gloucester, as we afterwards found it was. The governor, upon examining the master, was fully satisfied of his relation, and immediately sent away an express to Lima, to acquaint the viceroy therewith: and the royal officer residing at Paita, apprehensive of a visit from the English, had, from his first hearing of this news, been busily employed in removing the king's treasure and his own to Piura, a town within land, about fourteen leagues distant. We further learned, from our prisoners, that there was a very considerable sum of money, belonging to some merchants of Lima, that was now lodged in the custom house at Paita, and that this was intended to be shipped on board a vessel which was then in the port of Paita, and was preparing to sail with the utmost expedition, being bound for the bay of Sonsonate on the coast of Mexico, in order to purchase a part of the cargo of the Manilla ship. As the vessel in which the money was to be shipped, was esteemed a prime sailer, and had just received a new coat of tallow on her bottom, and might, in the opinion of the prisoners, be able to sail the succeeding morning, the character they gave of her left us little reason to believe, that our ship, which had been in the water near two years, could have any chance of coming up with her, if we once suffered her to escape out of the port. Therefore, as we are now discovered, and the coast would be soon alarmed, and as our cruising in these parts any longer would answer no purpose, the Commodore resolved to endeavour to surprise the place, having first minutely informed himself of its strength and condition, and being fully satisfied that there was little danger of losing many of our men in the attempt. This attack on Paita, besides the treasure it promised us, and its being the only enterprize it was in our power to undertake, had these other advantages attending it, that we should, in all probability, supply ourselves with great quantities of live provision, of which we were at this time in want; and that we should likewise have an opportunity of setting our prisoners on shore, who were

now very numerous, and made a greater consumption of our food than our stock that remained was capable of furnishing long. In all these lights, the attempt was a most eligible one, and what our necessities, our situation, and every prudential consideration, prompted us to. How it succeeded, and how far it answered our expectations, shall be the subject of the following chapter.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

